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WELL, WELL, WELL! So that statesman of the monumental mind and the unterrified heart and the vice-presidential ambition, that new St. George, that arch-investigator, Representative Hamilton Fish, has again exposed the Communist menace in all its gory reality. We regret that the editor of *The Nation* has been caught red-handed, along with the two old Harrys—Emerson Fosdick and Elmer Barnes—among the "pink intellectualists and sobbing Socialists" more to be despised than real revolutionists, but it can't be helped. Murder will out. Mr. Fish got appropriate intellectual support from Matthew Woll and Father Walsh and Martin W. Littleton, while Carnegie Hall resounded with the cheers of sixty-five anti-Communist organizations, running all the way down from the Allied Patriotic Societies, the American Vigilant Intelligence Association, and nine other American brands, through seven sets of Daughters—of America, of American Colonists, of Founders and Patriots, of the Defenders of the Republic, of the Holland Dames, of the Revolution, of the Union Veterans of the Civil War—through the National Sojourners of the United States, the Society of Sponsors of the American Navy, three sets of Sons, two varieties of United Daughters, and so finally to the Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. An enjoyable time was had by all, and we regret the malicious newspaper report, doubtless inspired from Moscow, that several hundred seats were left vacant before the speeches were over.

SENATOR NORRIS has won another battle in his long Muscle Shoals campaign. After a prolonged and bitter struggle the House conferees yielded to the Senate on the fundamental question of allowing the government to build transmission lines either through Congressional appropriations or out of profits from the sale of power. With the power plant itself government owned and operated and with transmission lines also in government hands, there will thus be provided the essentials of a real system of government operation and transmission so that Muscle Shoals may serve as a yardstick for determining a reasonable price for power. It is for this reason, of course, that the provision for transmission lines was so bitterly fought. As we write there is uncertainty as to the fate of the conference report in the House, where the Administration is doing its utmost to defeat it. If the bill is passed, President Hoover will be faced with the alternative of swallowing his opposition to government operation, which he can scarcely do, or else of vetoing the bill, deferring yet further the long-deferred day of operation of Muscle Shoals, and thus throwing the question forward as an issue into the election of 1932.

THE CONSENT DECREE of 1920 is modified by an order of Justice Jennings Bailey in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to permit the packers to engage in wholesale distribution of products other than meat, and to use their refrigerator cars and other facilities in such trade. They are refused permission, however, to go into retail business, on the ground that such activities on their part "would probably result in the almost complete annihilation of the independent retail grocer, already a minority in volume of sales." They are still restrained from owning public stockyards, terminal railroads, market newspapers, and public cold-storage warehouses. Justice Bailey justifies the limited relaxation of the consent decree by changes in methods of food distribution and in the position of the packers, no one of whom, he holds, has anything like control of the business and among whom there exists "no combination or agreement in restraint of trade." While the opinion as reported in the press seems to suggest that the packers could probably distribute at retail more cheaply than it is now done, the danger of monopoly is held to override that consideration. The packers gain a certain increased liberty of action, but they are denied the coveted opportunity of entering into competition, not with the small grocer, of course, but with the chain stores in retail distribution. The independent retailer has protected the chains from a powerful competitor.

THE RED CROSS APPEAL which Mr. Hoover has indorsed will doubtless go over the top in due time, as such appeals are likely to do in this open-handed country, but the raising of a further $10,000,000 will not dispel the uneasy feeling that Red Cross finances need clarification.

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Only a few weeks ago Judge Payne, chairman of the Red Cross, was telling the Appropriations Committee of the Senate that the $5,000,000 which the society had set aside for drought relief would probably be sufficient for immediate needs. It now appears that Judge Payne's estimate was pretty wild, and that $10,000,000 more will have to be found if farmers in Arkansas and elsewhere are not presently to die of disease or starvation. Mercer G. Johnston, director of the People's Legislative Service at Washington, counters the appeal by declaring that at the beginning of the current fiscal year, July 1 last, the Red Cross had on hand or "substantially assured" $44,000,000, of which amount $38,000,000 was immediately available. If these figures are correct, why the need of $10,000,000 more? Mr. Hoover's letter of approval suggests that the Red Cross proposes to go beyond the country districts and extend relief to small rural and industrial towns which have suffered not only from the drought but also from the business depression. What the country would like to know is how much money the Red Cross has on hand or in sight, what it is doing with it, and whether its work is to be extended from the drought area to any part of the United States in which food distribution is thought to be necessary.

SOME OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS in the annual report of Joseph A. Broderick, State Superintendent of Banks in New York, including that providing for the segregation of thrift accounts in commercial banks and that empowering the superintendent to remove officers or directors guilty of persistent violations of the banking law, deserve serious consideration. Other recommendations, however, seem to have a slightly hysterical character. This applies particularly to the recommendation that the superintendent be permitted, when an emergency arises, to approve the merger of two or more banks without the necessity of seeking the approval of the stockholders. Such a suggestion seems both bad in itself and dangerous as a precedent. The stockholders are after all the real owners of the bank, and the "double liability" that bank stockholders carry makes it the more important that what rights they have should be protected. Proposals for general legislation based upon what might have happened in one particular case—in this instance the Bank of United States—always demand careful scrutiny. In general it may be doubted whether so much new legislation is required. The general public will continue to suspect that recent bank failures might have been avoided by a more alert and curious State Banking Department acting under laws already on the books.

ONE GOOD EFFECT of the business depression has been the deflation of the reputation of the business forecasting services. Since the idea of the business cycle was popularized by the President's Conference on Unemployment in 1921, a great amount of useful study has been given to the up-and-down movement of business, and there have been numerous attempts to develop a reliable business barometer of some sort. Given such an idea, the natural thing to do, of course, was to sell the service to the business man, and university schools of business have vied with glorified market tipsters in seeking such patronage. One interesting feature of the December meeting of the economists and statisticians at Cleveland was their discussion of the very limited usefulness, to say no more, of even the best of these forecasting services. None probably is deserving of greater respect than that carried on by the Harvard Economic Society, yet in a recent letter in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* William P. Everets quotes numerous mistaken forecasts in the society's bulletins during the past two years and comes to the rather sweeping conclusion that "Harvard University must receive its full share of the blame" for the crash of 1929. It is impossible to overemphasize the practical importance of rigorous research into the causes of business fluctuation, but we believe that the universities would do well to resist the temptation to cash in on such investigations by attempting to sell the results to business men for immediate use.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR is little enough to spend on the protection of our mothers and their children, especially in view of the shocking maternal mortality rate of the United States, which is 6.5 per thousand live births, as compared, for instance, with Denmark, whose rate is 2.2. The Jones-Cooper maternity and infancy bill, which passed the Senate by a vote of 56 to 10, makes that sum available to the several States. The bill is similar to the Sheppard-Towner Act which expired in June, 1929. It assures to each State which accepts it and matches federal funds at least $30,000 a year. Unlike the Sheppard-Towner Act the new bill applies also to Porto Rico, Alaska, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. There was opposition to the bill, mainly from Senator King of Utah. He called it a federal intrusion on State functions and mentioned socialism, communism, and the backers of the bill in the same accusing breath, to which Senator Barkley of Kentucky retorted that "if one is in favor of making an appropriation for the welfare of a cow or a hog, that is the height of statesmanship; but if he is in favor of an appropriation which has for its purpose the making of a human being a little more healthy, or giving a baby a right to live equal to the right of an animal, he is denounced as a Communist." Senator King's attempt, by amendment, to limit the provisions of the bill to five years was voted down without a roll call. The bill now goes to the House where a similar attempt to limit it will probably be made. We hope the friends of the bill will see it through intact in order that the excellent work accomplished by the Children's Bureau under the Sheppard-Towner Act may be resumed without further delay.

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA outlined by Lord Sankey as chairman of the Round Table Conference committee of federal structure, which will shortly be acted on by the conference as a whole, is little likely to meet the demands of the advocates of real Indian self-government, although the report, according to press dispatches, formally admits the theory of responsible self-government for India with a cabinet responsible to the legislature. Executive power is vested in the governor-general (the viceroy), to whom are reserved the powers of defense and foreign affairs as well as emergency powers in internal matters in time of crisis. The meaning of such powers the past year has shown. In the field of finance the governor-general will have such powers as are necessary to safeguard Indian credit abroad, but "with regard to the fiscal policy, taxation, and expenditure the minister of finance

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should be responsible only to the legislature." All other ministers will be wholly responsible to the legislature, but it will require a two-thirds' vote of both houses sitting jointly to overthrow the government, so the position of the ministry of the day will be much stronger than in Great Britain or France, for instance. A two-chamber legislature is suggested, representatives of the independent Indian states in both houses being named by the Maharajahs and their councils, representatives of British Indian states in the upper house to be chosen by the provincial legislatures; the exact method of choosing members of the lower house is not yet clear. Special classes, such as the "untouchables," are to be represented in both houses. Concessions like these might have gone a long way to satisfy Indian opinion a year ago, but it is doubtful whether any such plan will be accepted today by either the Congress Party or their sympathizers in view of the events of the last twelve months.

SECRETARY STIMSON'S strongly worded denunciation of slavery in Liberia may, we hope, go far toward stamping out this evil, which continues its protected existence, not only in Liberia, but in many other countries. The Stimson note placed all of the responsibility and a good share of the guilt upon the government officials in Monrovia. Without official protection, whether it be protection directly given or merely that of tolerance, slavery and forced labor would quickly die out. This is the lesson of the Stimson denunciation. It is a lesson that should be driven home to the delegates of the slavery-protecting countries at Geneva. The League of Nations has already done admirable work in this direction. It was a League commission, of which the American member was Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University, that investigated and uncovered the unsavory conditions in Liberia and named the officials responsible for them. It was this commission's report that prompted Secretary Stimson to take action. Similar conditions exist in Abyssinia and other countries, as pointed out by Raymond Leslie Buell in *The Nation* of December 24. That Mr. Stimson confined his denunciation to Liberia is due to the special position the United States has in that country. His strong stand will have the effect, however, of giving substantial and much-needed moral support to the League's campaign to abolish slavery and forced labor everywhere.

THE WHOOP-LA DEPARTMENT of the Italian government, having given up attempted assassinations of Premier Mussolini as sources of front-page news, has called in the Italian Air Minister, General Balbo, and a few of his subordinates to put Il Duce back into column one. General Balbo, commanding a squadron of twelve great planes, started from Orbetello on the south coast of Italy, crossed the Mediterranean, hugged the coast of Africa to Bolama—with destroyers stationed every 250 miles or so—and in a triumphant burst of well-advertised glory darted 1,875 miles across the South Atlantic to Brazil. Unfortunately, at Bolama two of the planes went down, five aviators were drowned, and three were injured. Barring this little accident, which was carefully kept out of the newspapers until the squadron had reached South America and been suitably welcomed, all has gone well with the expedition. The scientific value of the flight is said to be the demonstration that planes can travel long distances in company. But with the same charts and instruments it is difficult to see how they could help doing so, assuming that they took off from the same point at the same time and had the same destination. It is our firm conviction that the newspaper-reading public is tired of reading about flights which are mere costly publicity stunts, that these flights are no longer news, and that there is no reason on earth for continuing them.

THE SON OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING the poet, the nephew of Margaret Fuller, the grandnephew of Dr. Channing the eminent Unitarian minister, Professor Edward Channing of Harvard, who died on January 7 at seventy-four, was not eclipsed by his distinguished connections. He was appointed an instructor in history at Harvard in 1883; his first book, "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," appeared a year later, and from then on, through a long life, he was assiduously engaged in elucidating the history of the United States, with what eloquent and admirable success every student of the subject knows. His major work was the "History of the United States," the sixth volume of which, "The War of Southern Independence," was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1926. The seventh volume is already on the press; copious notes for the eighth and last are ready for a compiler. Like that other interpreter and chronicler of American life, V. L. Parrington, Professor Channing was not able to see his task quite through to the end. But enough is available so that his great work will not be lost. When universities are being criticized and professors are being laughed at or despised, it is good to recall such a career as Professor Channing's. He was single-minded, devoted, industrious, for more than four decades; he performed a service for his countrymen that they must always remember with gratitude. It is by work like this that the academic tradition is preserved in spite of those who would like to take it lightly or see it vanish altogether.

NATHAN STRAUS, who died in New York on January 11 at the age of eighty-two, was admittedly one of the greatest of Jewish philanthropists. His most notable work, perhaps, was his championship of the use of pasteurized milk, especially for children—a beneficent innovation which he began in 1892, and which in 1927 was estimated by the New York Department of Health to have so far reduced infant mortality as to have saved the lives of 417,582 children during the preceding thirty-five years. In the panic year 1893 he gave money without stint in relief, and in 1894 established and maintained four lodging-houses and subsidized a series of bread lines. The latter were again established in 1913. His contributions of various kinds during the World War were believed to have represented several fortunes, and after the war he poured money into relief work for Jews and others in Europe and for the establishment of hospitals and kitchens in Palestine. It was characteristic of his intense individuality that he had little patience with the scientific methods of organized charity, but the sharp criticism which was often passed upon his own methods did not fail to recognize his great generosity or his vast fund of human sympathy. In the front rank of Zionist leaders, his aggressive challenge of Henry Ford's attack upon Jewish international bankers was largely responsible, it was believed, for the eventual withdrawal of the Ford charges.

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The New Power Battle

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S refusal to return to the Senate the notice of the confirmation of George Otis Smith, Marcel Garsaud, and Claude L. Draper as federal power commissioners may be well founded in law, but it will profit the President little in his contest with the Senate, and it will only add fuel to the flame of controversy over the power problem. The technical constitutional question on which the President seeks to concentrate attention must be viewed always in its relation to the real underlying issue. From the former point of view, the President finds himself in an advantageous position, and he tries to take advantage of that fact to divert attention from the real question underlying the whole controversy, namely, the effective control of power companies. It would be a great pity if he were allowed to succeed in the attempt.

We have already criticized the action of the Senate in confirming the Power Commission nominees, but when that body, after examining their qualifications or lack of qualifications, confirmed them and they were sworn in, a common-sense view of the situation would suggest that they were legally in office even though the Senate under its rules has the power to reconsider a nomination within two succeeding executive-session days. We do not debate the interesting legal point involved. The fact that the essential ground for reconsideration was really the action of the three *as commissioners* in dealing with Messrs. Russell and King lends point to the President's contention that the Senate was actually attempting "removal of a duly appointed executive officer under the guise of reconsideration of his nomination"—waiving the question whether members of independent commissions are, strictly speaking, executive officers; but those who know the facts will not fail to recognize the economic issue underlying the Senate action. In any case, however, the practical impossibility of getting the matter before the courts gives to the President's action a finality that is little likely to be disturbed unless the Senate later, as threatened by Senator Wheeler, should refuse to make appropriations for the salaries of the commissioners.

If this is the technical situation, then, is the Senate wrong and the President right? Certainly not! Newspaper and other commentators the country over have hastened to congratulate the President for his courage in "rebuking" attempted Senatorial encroachment on his prerogatives and to commend him for defying that obstreperous body. We have little patience with such comment, for it completely misses the whole point of the extraordinary action the Senate has taken in this matter. What is the real purpose and what will be the result of what has been done? The answer must be sought, not in the field of constitutional law, but in that of politics and public policy. In this field, even if it be assumed that the President was legally right in refusing to return the nominations, the Senate has none the less performed a great service in calling public attention again to the economic issues involved and in making it clear once more just where the President stands.

In his public statement on the question Mr. Hoover either is extraordinarily blind and stupid or else is disingenuous. He declares that there is "no issue for or against power companies," and that the question is a purely constitutional one. If the President does not know any better than this, the rest of us do. His statement is a good deal like saying that in the Civil War there was no issue for or against slavery, and his declaration is just about as true as that assertion would be. Now, as then, there is a fundamental conflict, now hidden for a time, again coming to the surface. That conflict is between the special interests of power companies on the one hand and public interests on the other. The President has always been and is today by conviction and association for the power companies. He publicly avows it, and his Administration has fought for the power companies at Muscle Shoals, at Flathead, at the Hoover Dam in the Black Canyon, on the Clarion River—wherever the issue has been raised. We are not charging Mr. Hoover with bad faith, for he has been perfectly open about it; we are simply charging him with being for the power companies. In his public statement he declines to be symbolized "as the defender of power interests if I refuse to sacrifice three outstanding public servants" and attempts to reprove the Senate for absorbing government attention "upon such questions as the action of the Power Commission in employment or non-employment of two subordinate officials." None of this, we believe, will serve successfully to distract the public mind from the fact to which the action of the Senate again dramatically calls attention, namely, the perfectly consistent record of the President's action in support of power-company interests.

What the Senate has done is to make clear the character of the new Federal Power Commission even before that body has begun to function. Lamentable as the necessity is, the work itself had to be done, and it is only a pity that it could not have been done when the nominations were originally considered. When Mr. Hoover makes appointments they are of Hoover-minded men; that is to say, in the case of power appointees, of company-minded men, as was clearly enough brought out in the examination of Mr. Smith. We do not impeach the integrity of the new commissioners, but we do assert that the task of power regulation, almost insuperably difficult in itself, cannot be successfully accomplished unless by well-informed, highly sophisticated men, almost fanatically public-minded. That kind of man the President does not trust and therefore does not appoint if he can avoid it. For the people, then, to rely on his appointees for effective guardianship of the public interest, in face of the endless activities of the power companies, is to court, at the least, disillusionment. The present incident has made that fact clear concerning these three appointees. The Senate has dramatized the incident for the whole country to see and in so doing has again served the country well. This happening has given fresh meaning to the Muscle Shoals fight. It has weakened the voice of those who assert the possibility of really effective and satisfactory regulation. It has strengthened the hand of those who fight for the development and transmission of power by a public agency, not by private profit-making companies.

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The Party of Privilege

A DECADE ago Lord Bryce declared that the political party organizations in the United States, although "democratic in theory and in their outward form, have become selfish oligarchies worked by professional politicians." These organizations, he declared, had long since fallen "into the hands of persons who made personal gain out of them." Then he laid his finger on the crux of the matter by showing that in the control and management of these major parties "the power of wealth has been immense." Yet mere dissent to the narrow plutocratic control of the present parties will not suffice as a base for a new progressive or popular party that will represent the vast groups of people who today have no dependable representation in the government.

In order more readily to comprehend what economic groups stand in logical opposition to the now dominant conservative party, and to understand the reasons for this inevitable but long inarticulate opposition, it is necessary to examine the economic interests of the ruling group. When the Republicans, in 1860, nominated Lincoln they waged the campaign on the two main issues of anti-slavery and protection, shrewdly emphasizing protection where opposition to slavery was lukewarm and putting slavery restriction to the fore where tariff interest was not keen. By so doing they drew to their support a predominant part of such business interests of the North and West as saw in tariff protection a promise of substantial benefits. So much of the federal legislation of the Civil War period as was not obviously political or military—increased tariff rates, war loans, the national banking system, agricultural development, and the like—all tended further to insure the support of business and identify prosperity with Republican control.

All this was in keeping with the theory of government which the Republicans had inherited from the Whigs, and which the Whigs, at long remove, had inherited from the Federalists. To the Federalists, government was safe only in the hands of "the best men," meaning thereby, in practice, the men of property or important business interests. It was the men who held this view who determined the character of the federal Constitution, supported the financial plans of Alexander Hamilton, and applauded the judicial rulings of Chief Justice Marshall. The same regard for wealth and class, but crossed with sharp divisions of opinion about slavery, reappeared years later in the Whig Party. Through all three parties runs the theory that the persons first to be considered by government are such as are important, and that the general benefit will be best served by first regarding the "interests."

It was not until after the Civil War, however, and more particularly not until after President Cleveland had joined issue with big business on the tariff issue that the manufacturing and banking interests rode surely and securely into power. Since Cleveland they have hardly been dislodged from that power, considering that the somewhat liberal tinge of the first Wilson Administration was soon swamped by the reactionary war policies of the second. Today they control the government. Take only the policies and tactics of the last three Republican administrations. The tariff acts of 1922 and 1930, although one of these was designed amid much publicity to aid the farmers, upon careful examination show consideration for only one group, the manufacturers. The farmers have not been helped, and the consuming public was completely ignored. The tender treatment which the federal tax laws seem to extend to incomes in the higher brackets shows the same consideration for the very small but powerful moneyed class. Other legislation and the public expressions of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover have revealed nothing but the kindliest and most generous feeling for big business. Mr. Hoover has espoused the cause of "rugged individualism." In his opinion, publicly stated, the race should go to the strongest, but in our complex society only the wealthy have strength. He has packed the government in Washington, especially the various influential bodies like the tariff and power commissions, with men who think as he does.

Upon what bases rests the control by big business of the two major party organizations? First, upon the fallacious theory, which the whole country seems to have swallowed, that anything injurious to these sacred interests will also hurt the people. Second, and more important, upon the ownership of the two parties. Senator Norris believes the Republican voters own the Republican Party. Certainly they ought to own it, but as a matter of fact big business has bought and paid for it. It feels, rightfully enough, entitled to exercise all the privileges of ownership. The $8,100,738 (a minimum estimate based only upon published reports) spent by the Republicans in 1920 and the $6,627,784 they spent in 1924 did not come, except in very small measure, from the voters; it came from the commercial and financial interests of the country. The Democrats expended somewhat smaller sums, but still in the millions. Quoting Professor Edward M. Sait: "The Democratic treasurer collects what he can. But he commands smaller resources because the commercial and industrial wealth of the country —big business—has allied itself with the Republican Party." Most of the owners of the parties conduct themselves very discreetly in their relations with their political servants. Occasionally some of them overreach themselves, and we then have scandals like the Teapot Dome affair (which annoys the more unscrupulous of Republican and Democratic office-holders, not because the overreaching is crooked, but because these greedy owners are stupid enough to get caught at the game the other owners and their servants are playing). More often, however, the proprietors of the two parties are prudent and succeed in avoiding scandals. No one has yet succeeded in making court cases out of the recent tariff exactions, not to say robberies, the post-office leasing system, and other examples of privilege and pillage. Thus big business is more than adequately represented in our government. We shall discuss in succeeding issues the vast and inarticulate groups whose economic interests stand in opposition to those of big business, and point out ways and means by which these groups may overcome the obstacles that bar them from direct and equitable participation in the management and benefits of government.

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The Jobless Millions

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the announcement, at the beginning of the second week of January, that some 60,000 workers had lately returned or were on the point of returning to their old jobs in automobile factories, steel works, railways, or other large industries came the statement of Colonel Arthur Woods, chairman of the President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment, made to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, that the number of totally unemployed persons in the United States was probably between four and five million, that conditions "are not apt to improve before spring," and that both business and employment would probably be at their lowest point this month and next. The first of these items of news seemed clearly to suggest that the unemployment wave had at last been checked and might now be expected to recede, while the second seemed with equal clearness to justify the conclusion that the reemployment of 60,000 workers—a figure which was shortly raised to about 100,000—represented only a drop in the bucket.

What has become, meantime, of the vast program of public or corporate work which Mr. Hoover and various committees elaborated, and which was to relegate unemployment before long to the limbo of the unwept, unhonored, and unsung? Before the end of November, 1929, it was announced at Washington that plans for the expenditure of more than $3,000,000,000 were being made or were actually in operation; by January, 1930, the figure had risen to $7,000,000,000. The largest items in this imposing total were represented by the contributions of railways and public-utility companies, most of it, as later appeared, being work already planned. How much of this work was actually done in 1930 is not known, but evidently not enough to bring down the unemployment total materially. A good deal of it, apparently, has been carried over into 1931 and remains, where it began, on paper. According to Colonel Woods, of the $2,500,000,000 to be expended during the present year for "public or private construction," 40 per cent is now "in the plan or contract stage"—a stage, as everybody knows, many degrees removed from that of pick and shovel.

The country must settle down, then, to another long winter and spring in which some millions of men and women workers, with other millions dependent upon them, must somehow be helped to live. The sensible recommendations made in a recent report of the Russell Sage Foundation may well be adopted by every community, relief agency, and employer where they apply. Avoidance of alarmist publicity, credits for landlords and retailers of necessities who have strained their own credit resources, the support of existing agencies instead of the creation of new ones, registration of able-bodied applicants for relief, preference to residents in employment, discouragement of artificial work, part-time work instead of wage cuts where such substitution is possible, and a reasonable assurance of security in jobs if such assurance can be given are among the procedures which experience shows should be followed if funds are to be conserved, waste avoided, and the maximum of help extended. An ounce of wisdom here is worth more than pounds of projected government aid not yet available.

Goldfish and Liberty

OF all household pets, none leads a more secure or simple life than the goldfish, cared for according to the rules. He lives in his native element, in a container open to the air; his food—just the right kind—is fed to him regularly at just the right intervals; the temperature of his habitat remains nearly constant, comfortably warm, and he is not affected by the dry air that results from too much steam heat. Safe in his little glass-inclosed world he swims, up and down and round about, not disturbed by his lack of privacy, admired by all beholders, glistening, beautiful, happy. To be sure, he wears a constantly disgruntled expression, but one is justified in ascribing that to morphology rather than morbidity.

It is worth considering whether this enviable state is not made so chiefly by its lack of liberty, its freedom from responsibility. Not for the goldfish are those distressingly complicated decisions that even a household dog or cat has to make of where will be the best place to go next, of whom he will love, of when and where he will sleep or lie down or divert himself. And surely man, that creature of infinite decisions, whose activities may extend in such a variety of directions, is miserable compared with this circumscribed, imprisoned bright fish. The theory has been advanced that the chief curse of modern life is its liberty. We no longer have any authority to bow to, we refuse to acknowledge conventions, we scorn manners, we deride rules. God is gone, except in the minds of our more esoteric mathematicians, and with him roast beef for Sunday dinner, men who asked the permission of a lady before they lighted a cigar, and women who warmed their husband's slippers against their return from a day of toil.

There are plenty of persons, of course, who will declare that these days of slipper-warming are well gone. Women are no longer bound by the limits of the home, men live no longer under the deadening weight of stupid and meaningless conventions. But to question this enthusiasm for freedom one has only to remember how comfortable, on the whole, our American young men were when, in the late war, the routine of the army bound them. Responsibility and the necessity of making choices are dreadfully difficult matters. Only the most adult of us are capable of enduring freedom to act and think and speak as we like. It is infinitely more comforting to know the rules that must govern our decisions, to have a superior authority whom we can consult and blame, to be protected from a harsh world by the warm assurance of routine. Why, says the modern child, the modern man or woman, in marriage or out, should I not do as I like? The wise answer, with the weight of experience behind it, would be because it is too painful.

It is impossible, of course, even if it were desirable, to return to the past, to readopt old modes of conduct, just as we cannot put on the clothes we wore in the nineties and have them fit or look seemly. But it is surely not too far-fetched to envisage the possibility that men and women, now, in this age of freedom, are busy with forging new chains, and will be happier wearing them. Happier, too, perhaps, when they can promise themselves to cast them off again. The pendulum must swing; but it will return.

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Wickersham and His Commission

By GARDNER JACKSON

Washington, January 10

"VERY belligerent" is the phrase applied to several sessions of Wickersham Commission members by one intimately in touch with the work of that body in arriving at its report on prohibition. Whatever the nature of the prohibition report, the question, "How did they arrive at it?" needs to be answered, and that phrase, "very belligerent," seems to be one key to the answer. For one cannot escape the impression after diligent inquiry into the commission's technique that the clash of personalities within the group has been a surprisingly large factor in the process of knitting the compromise report together.

Some of the sessions have run past midnight with voices at a strident pitch and gestures something less than gentle. Chairs designed for reflective sitting have been suddenly shoved from their positions, files of letters and data have been abruptly swept into disorder by impatient gesturing. In brief, some of the sessions have been dominated by emotions riding high on irritated and unruly nerves.

"How shall I describe the methods by which you've agreed on this report?" one close to the work was asked. "You can't describe them," this person replied. "It's an impossible assignment. There has been no system and no formulated methods. It has been in large measure each one for himself. Think of putting eleven people around a table and expecting them to come to an agreement on a question like prohibition. You know as well as I do that most of those people have exactly the same opinions now that they had when they started."

As a matter of fact the harassed members of the commission have had a thankless and extremely trying task, both because of the inherent nature of the problem engaging them and because of the circumstances attending their engagement. Summoned to the periodic sessions in Washington from their daily preoccupations as judges, lawyers, teacher, and college president, the commissioners have heard a multitude of witnesses describe every known system of liquor control and express every conceivable opinion. Supplied with quantities of data, they have left their sessions to return to their customary preoccupations, snatching time between whiles to reflect upon and digest what they took away with them from Washington and to pursue such individual inquiries as they cared to. Most of the data have been available right along, coming from Congressional and Senate hearings and from studies conducted by private individuals and organizations. The only major new and basic piece of research on the prohibition problem to occupy them was the survey into the working of the prohibition forces carried on by Henry S. Dennison with a staff of investigators including Federal Prohibition Director Amos W. Woodcock.

This intermittent quality of the commissioners' undertaking was handicap enough, but there soon developed another more serious one, namely, political pressure. The commission got away to a bad start in respect to psychological harmony among its members when it decided upon secret hearings. A minority of the group wanted public hearings and wanted them badly, feeling among other things that political pressure would not be so effective if the inquiry were conducted in the open. Overruling the minority left a persistent dissatisfaction, and it is surely at least debatable whether public hearings would not have been better from the commission's own point of view.

After President Hoover on May 28, 1929, inducted the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement into office, the newspapers generally respected the commission's request for privacy. The commission's explanation that privacy was a requisite of research into lawlessness was accepted as sincere and reasonable. The newspaper correspondents took what was handed them from commission headquarters in the Tower Building and refrained from further prying that might interfere with research.

Then, hardly more than six months after the commission held its first session, it forfeited all claim to respect as a body devoted purely to research at least as regards prohibition. Yielding to direct pressure from the White House—pressure induced by political clamor in Congress—it issued preliminary reports and proposed bills. Disregarding the fact that in those hastily composed reports and bills there were several glaring inaccuracies and illogicalities (in one bill an astonishing technical inaccuracy), which were pointed out by Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University and others, the action itself was fatal. It blasted the newspapers' respect for the commission's claim to privacy and made suspicion the dominant attitude toward the body.

Considering how that unfortunate decision came to be negotiated, one cannot help recalling that Chairman George W. Wickersham is a charming gentleman of responsive heart—responsive in a pinch to White House troubles. One remembers that in 1910 President Taft persuaded him as Attorney General to predate over his signature a document exonerating Secretary Ballinger. "I therefore directed him to embody in a written statement such analysis and conclusions as he had given me, file it with the record, and date it prior to the date of my opinion, so as to show that my decision was fortified by his summary of the evidence and his conclusions therefrom," wrote President Taft to Senator Nelson in explanation.

It is inevitable that those who have tried to discover the modus operandi of the commission should thus look back and should feel sorry that the genial Mr. Wickersham has been unfortunate enough to be once more in a position of responsibility to another White House occupant sorely perplexed—this time by prohibition. But whatever the sources and avenues of interruptions to the ideals of objectivity in research and recommendations within the commission, there are clear external signs beyond the issuance of the preliminary reports and bills that such interruptions have occurred. For example, take the turnover of men retained to help the commission in its research.

The resignation last summer of Max Lowenthal as secretary of the commission is an outstanding example. Mr.

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Lowenthal, with a background of brilliant legal and scholarly accomplishments, was retained to serve both as administrative secretary and as director of research. His sudden resignation, after he had given up virtually all of his professional commitments in order to work with the commission, led to extensive newspaper queries. On August 8, 1930, the New York *World* carried a detailed report explaining that Mr. Lowenthal's resignation was based on disillusionment respecting the quality and scope of the commission's investigations. The report stated that Mr. Lowenthal found the conduct of the commission to be directed by political expediency (particularly as regards prohibition) and that a genuinely objective study had become impossible in the face of political bickerings between various members of the group. Mr. Lowenthal has steadfastly refused to say anything, either in denial or confirmation of the *World's* explanation, but it is generally considered to be true.

Other men, young law-school graduates retained for specific tasks in furthering the research, have tried out the work and lasted but a while. One such man, retained to study and clarify the preliminary reports of a few of the many experts working for the commission, told a committee of the commission members after going over the reports that he could see no point in his continuing with the job. With the exception of one of the reports, he said, there was in the material so little factual information as to render it scientifically valueless. Whereupon one of the commissioners ejaculated with irritation, "Factual, factual! I'm tired of hearing that word factual all the time!"

Just what has been the relationship between the eleven committees of the commission and the experts retained to conduct studies in the eleven specific fields is not clear. Those fields are: the causes of crime; statistics of crime and criminal justice; police; prosecution; courts; penal institutions, probation, and parole; prohibition; juvenile delinquency; criminal justice and the foreign born; lawlessness by governmental law-enforcing officers; cost of crime. The relationship has apparently varied greatly with the personnel of the committees. In some instances the committee members keep in close touch with their experts. In others the experts are left entirely to their own devices. The underlying theory has been, of course, that the experts should have a free hand to conduct their studies as they saw fit.

As the program now stands it seems probable that the experts' reports (whether in the field of prohibition or not one cannot say, so closely guarded has been procedure there) will be published as submitted to the committees, accompanied by the commissioners' observations and recommendations. Thus, it is conceivable that the reports of the experts studying "the causes of crime," for example, may be published with conclusions and findings that run counter to the conclusions or desires of the commissioners themselves. One wonders to what extent the experts will insist on full publication of their reports.

The eleven committees of the commission have naturally overlapped in their fields of study but they were arranged with a view to specialization. A marked exception to this intention has been Dean Roscoe Pound, who has had his say in all the fields. With the single exception of Chairman Wickersham, Dean Pound has spent more time on the ground here in Washington than any other commissioner. He has been on leave from the Harvard Law School for many months devoting himself entirely to commission work. It is agreed by all observers here that his hand is writ large in the prohibition report even though he is not a member of the committee originally assigned to deal with that subject. That committee is made up of Mr. Wickersham as chairman, Newton D. Baker, Ada L. Comstock, and Judge William S. Kenyon, an outspoken dry, who tendered his resignation early this winter but was persuaded by President Hoover to remain.

One of the reasons assigned by the New York *World* report for Mr. Lowenthal's resignation was violation of the pledge to make no public utterance on commission work taken by the commissioners when they first came together. One such violation, illuminating one commissioner's attitude of mind, was the speech on prohibition lawlessness delivered by Frank J. Loesch, Chicago member of the commission, at the Commonwealth Conference at the University of Iowa. As reported in the New York *Times* of July 1, 1930, Mr. Loesch said in the course of that speech: "But the real Americans are not gangsters. Recent immigrants and the first generation of Jews and Italians are the chief offenders, with the Jews furnishing the brains and the Italians the brawn." Since that time there have been no statements or speeches by members of the commission as such except by Chairman Wickersham, whose last speech suggested the advisability of flogging for gangster criminals.

Since it let the press loose on its back by the issuance of the preliminary reports and bills, the commission has been subjected to an overwhelming amount of newspaper speculation and gossip. The commissioners have been haunted individually by newspapermen seeking some shred of evidence for prophecy as to the nature of the prohibition report.

There is an unmistakable air of relief around commission headquarters now that the prohibition report, product as it is of all sorts of tugging and pulling, is finished. The attitude is expressed that now the commission can go on with its more important work in other fields. But also in the other fields there is one basic objection which even some of the experts themselves admit privately. That is the rush with which the whole undertaking has been put through. The work will be completed in all fields by the last of June, according to present plans. This is scarcely more than two years after the inquiry began. As one expert remarked to me, "Why, to begin to do this thing right we ought to have at least five years."

And what of President Hoover's expressed standards in regard to the commission mode of inquiry? In his well-remembered "hair-shirt" letter of December 30, 1929, to President-emeritus W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University he said:

> The truth . . . is hard to discover; it must be distilled through the common judgment of skilled men and women from accurately and patiently collected facts and knowledge of forces before the extraction of the essence of wisdom. The materials themselves are hard to come by; it takes time and patience. . . .

Perhaps the one great contribution which will come out of this key commission of President Hoover will be recognition by the earnest members of that body that they have barely scratched the surface and that what is needed is a permanent, full-time, fact-finding body removed from political influence.

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Brighter Days in Austria

By JOHN GUNTHER

"THE situation in Austria," a Viennese wit once told H. W. Nevinson, "is hopeless but not serious." Doubtless he had in mind not only the fundamental impossibility of the economic situation, together with the country's almost inexplicable survival, but such minor matters as the excessive confusions, vanities, and bitternesses of local politics. Statesmanship in Vienna makes almost a cult of irresponsibility. And doubtless Mr. Nevinson's friend had reference also to the national trait, *Gemütlichkeit.* Austria has a genius for turning the other cheek. Crises induced by desperate partisan rivalry almost always end in egregiously opportunist compromises.

The present situation, however, following the November elections, is brighter. There is little doubt that a period of dangerous tension has ended and that a new chapter of development both less violent and less sentimental has begun. The new parliament differs radically from the old, in spirit if not texture. The country has good prospects of two or three uninterrupted years of brisk, moderate government—assuming no sudden change. The extremists were soundly beaten. Austria's No! to reaction is one of the most reassuring recent developments in Europe.

The new government, headed by Chancellor Ender and Vice-Chancellor Schober, was formed on December 3, when the Vaugoin Cabinet, beaten in the elections, was finally forced to resign. The Christian Social (clerical) Party took six portfolios; the newly formed center bloc under Dr. Schober took three. Except for Dr. Vaugoin, who retains his traditional post as Minister of War, all members of the government are ostensibly moderate. The Heimwehr (fascist) deputies were excluded, because Dr. Schober, who holds the balance of power, refused to have them. He had to accept Dr. Vaugoin (with Vaugoin's knife still sticking in his back) but he drew the line at young Prince Starhemberg, the Heimwehr leader. Professedly the Ender-Schober Government is a coalition of moderate right and center parties against the Social Democrats (Socialists). The Socialists, however, are willing to work with it.

The chief result of the elections is negative—the Heimwehr got an awful spanking. Out of a total of 3,464,256 votes, young Prince Starhemberg and his absentee chief-of-staff, the *agent provocateur* Major Pabst, polled only 226,000. True, the Heimwehr have eight seats in parliament, but only by grace of the extraordinary Austrian election system. At the last moment, one Heimwehr man squeezed in with the "basic mandate" necessary; the other seven seats followed automatically. Of course, the Heimwehr had no real policy. The force of Heimwehr reaction was greatly exaggerated by all observers. So was the sincerity of Heimwehr pledges. The Heimwehr may split up shortly, the right wing going with the Hitlerites.

Another negative result of the elections is the withdrawal, at least for the moment, of Dr. Seipel from parliamentary life. A bland little man, shiny-bald like an apple, he is not only the living force of clericalism in Austria, he is the great incalculable of Austrian politics. Whatever happens in Austria, Dr. Seipel's hand is seen; nothing is conjectured without estimation of his influence. But in this instance he sought to employ the Heimwehr as an oblique instrument of his policy; too late, he tried to wriggle from an embarrassing intrigue; as a result he reaped defeat. Dr. Seipel, a sick man, has retired for a brief holiday. But let no one think he is out of the picture for good. He has been eclipsed temporarily before. And every time when he was ready to come back, the sun has shone.

I have heard many explanations of Dr. Seipel's great power—his natural cunning, his astute and vigorous mind, the power of the church behind him. I think there is another factor. Like the Succession States, Austria pays heavily for its lack of trained statesmen. The war wiped out the old generation; there was no time to train or educate a new. Dr. Vaugoin was an insurance agent; Dr. Kuntschak was a tram conductor; Dr. Schober is a professional policeman; President Miklas was a schoolmaster. But Monsignor Seipel from his earliest days has been a politician. Alone among surviving Austrians he was a minister under the last Emperor. And the assiduity of his training in the art of political maneuver is as indisputable as the perfection of his technique.

As to the Christian Social Party, as an organism it paid dearly for its Heimwehr philandering. In parliament it dropped from 73 seats to 66; its total vote was reduced by 400,000; the old anti-Marxist coalition was broken up; the days of purely clerical cabinets are probably gone forever—all this because Dr. Vaugoin provoked a needless crisis. (He had sought to manipulate high posts in the state railways.) On the other hand, the Christian Socialists are still powerful, well-organized, and somewhat bellicose. The lost seats, moreover, went to the Heimwehr, and intrigue might regain them. "As in Germany, the orthodox conservatives lost to stunt revolutionaries," but if Dr. Schober flirts too overtly with the Socialists, a Heimwehr-Christian Social coalition is still a possibility. Finally, the clerical party feels some relief at being no longer the most conservative group in the Chamber. For the first time in Austria there is an opposition to the right.

As to positive results, the Socialists have good reason for their restrained jubilance. Although their total poll was 20,000 votes less than in 1927, they are now both the largest party in the country and the largest single group in parliament. This is new to Austrian history. The danger of a Heimwehr putsch, moreover, is scotched, and the urban predominance of socialism remains impregnable. Out of a total vote in Vienna of 1,192,674, the Socialists got more than 700,000, which means that for years to come their work will go on in Vienna without serious hindrance.

The Socialists nevertheless have no clear parliamentary majority, nor are they likely to attain one for many years. The major issue in Austria is rivalry between Socialist Vienna and a clerical-conservative hinterland. The major problem is the very close balance between these two forces. As long as this balance persists the Socialists are forced to accept the best coalition government available. And they

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much prefer an Ender-Schober regime to Vaugoin or Seipel.

A word about Dr. Schober. He seems destined to be a sort of sub-Hindenburg, as Mr. G. E. R. Gedye has pointed out. He is prudent, he is neutral, and he is as clean as soap. Until November of this year he had never belonged to a political party, and the essential items in his program are simply economic reconstruction and political peace. His years as police president of Vienna made him surprisingly few enemies. Theodore Roosevelt, I have heard, once called him the best policeman in the world. It is, of course, something of a paradox that Socialism and Schober should be on reasonably good terms. Three years ago, following the Vienna riots, he was vilified by Socialists as a murderer. But if he bears a grudge today, he seems to bear it lightly. As to the Socialists, for them better Schober a friend than an enemy.

The greatest feat of Dr. Schober has been financial. He performed a miracle. That is, he went to The Hague, he saw Philip Snowden plain, and he came away—with Austria freed of every cent of reparations payment. Austria is the first country in Europe finally to liquidate her obligations left by the war. Following this feat Schober negotiated for Austria a $100,000,000 loan, no mean achievement for the black 1930's. He deserves credit also for the policy which inadvertently ended his former chancellorship—the expulsion of Major Pabst, the criminal indictment of Prince Starhemberg (for alleged arms smuggling), and his projected disarmament bill. Resentment by fascists at these measures provoked the crisis which overthrew him.

Finally there is Dr. Ender himself, the Chancellor, a little man with a big question-mark of a nose and bright, smiling teeth. It is typically Austrian that the Chancellor finally to be seized upon by all parties as the imperative savior of the hour should have been almost completely unknown. Yet no one should think Dr. Ender is a figurehead. He was born in 1875 and has had long years of experience as a provincial lawyer; he is a moderate clerical, pledged to a constitutional regime; and for twelve years he made an admirable record as governor of the province of Vorarlberg, the smallest but the most prosperous county in Austria.

Dr. Ender has more interesting claims to eminence. It is enormously suggestive that the cardinal principle of very nearly every Austrian politician is the abolition of Austria, i.e., Anschluss, or union with Germany. But Dr. Ender goes them one better. He is on record as having advocated Anschluss with Switzerland! That is, in 1919 he led a separatist movement, which, of course, was both peaceful and abortive, to join his homeland of Vorarlberg to the Swiss republic.

Such a program showed robust political intelligence. Even today, if Anschluss with Germany remains forbidden, surely the best future for Austria is cultivation of a permanent, cumulative, fiber-hard neutrality like that of Switzerland, a sort of non-political state. Austria has a good start in that direction.

The program of the Ender-Schober Government is the economic restoration of the country. The number of unemployed today is 192,670, as against 125,540 a year ago, a shocking figure for an agricultural country of 6,000,000. Exports have decreased by 42,000,000 schillings as compared to September, 1929, and imports by 70,000,000 schillings. At the Dorotheum, a second-hand market, not less than 45,000,000 schillings' worth of goods is stocked on pawn. In the large the economic situation is all but hopeless. Taxes paid within the country, for instance, furnish almost two-thirds of the state revenue. The country lives by the taxes it takes out of its own mouth.

Another problem is disarmament. It is not the least of local paradoxes that the treaty of peace limited Austria's regular army, so that now she has two irregular ones. During the electoral campaign Dr. Vaugoin carried out a preliminary arms search, which, however, was disgracefully one-sided. He let the Heimwehr arms severely alone; and then confiscated arms which the Schutzbund, the Socialist military organization, had actually confided, in his capacity as Minister of War, to his care! But let no one think that any but the top of the Socialist powder barrel was removed. The amount of arms held by both Heimwehr and Schutzbund is, I think, commonly exaggerated, but each could probably equip at least 50,000 men, and the continued presence of such illegal armament is, of course, not only unbecoming to the nation, but a constant temptation to excitement and trouble. You can do anything with bayonets, Talleyrand said, except sit on them.

As to foreign affairs, Dr. Schober, who is Foreign Minister as well as Vice-Chancellor, will attempt a conciliatory course. Above all Austrian politicians he stands for Anschluss, but meantime he wants as good relations with France and Czecho-Slovakia as he can get. When Dr. Seipel was Foreign Minister, Austria was inevitably a presumptive source of trouble. He was open to flirtation both with Italy and Hungary, and it is not unreasonable to adduce in this connection the close relations between Prince Starhemberg, Major Pabst (who is a German), Hitler (who is an Austrian), and General Bömboes, the Hungarian Minister of War. Most foreign offices are nervous at talk of an Italian-German-Hungarian-Austrian fascist combination—and they greet Dr. Schober with corresponding relief. Monsignor Seipel, moreover, is an avowed legitimist; he wanted Otto back in Hungary. Dr. Schober is also monarchist, and regards a Hapsburg restoration as eventually inevitable (in Budapest); but he does not want Otto at any risk of war, civil or otherwise.

Finally there is the immediate business of the impending presidential elections. Every possible artifice has been supplied to make these elections somewhat intricate. The preliminary lists must be submitted within ten weeks of the new session of parliament. There are, however, two elections, each by full popular plebiscite. The first is to eliminate all but the two leaders. These then fight it out—except that they may be two different leaders. Voting is for parties, not for persons, and any party is privileged to withdraw its first candidate, successful or not, and, for the second election, to replace him with another. If no candidate gets a clear majority in the first election, the second may take place with entirely different nominees. In the first elections, Dr. Renner is expected to stand for the Socialists, Dr. Kuntschak for the clericals, and Dr. Schober as representative of the middle bloc. But there is a catch. Austrians like confusion, and they like compromise. It seems clear at the moment of writing that both elections, formidable and expensive as they are, will occur—but with no result at all! The three candidates are expected to retire in favor of Dr. Miklas—who holds the job right now.

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"No North, No South!"

By STRINGFELLOW BARR

SOME time back, about the beginning of this century, I used to hear the phrase "No North, no South!" I don't know its history but I always carelessly assumed it was what Grant said to Lee at Appomattox by way of apology for fighting it out on this line if it took all summer and by way of tipping him off as to what to expect from Thad Stevens's gang in the near future. Now I think of it, somebody or other repeated the phrase when we, the American people, saved democracy. But let it go into the limbo of great national slogans like "Forward America, Nothing Can Stop U. S." Maybe the man who invented it meant nothing at all by it except that he had misplaced a pocket compass and wished he could get his bearings.

Anyhow, today, any Northerner or any Southerner who is sensitive to his surroundings, who has in short not lost his compass, would be insulted by the phrase. Indeed, far from ignoring sectional differences, I incline to think such persons readily exaggerate them. Since the nation has found out what engineers can do in a white house and since even the little children in the streets have taken to kidding Santa Claus, we have as a nation few great creative myths comparable to the picture the North has of the South and the picture the South has of the North. Nevertheless, I should like to repeat the phrase "No North, no South!" and try my hand at giving it a new content.

It happens that during the past calendar year the South has practiced more self-analysis, or certainly a noisier brand of self-analysis, than has been practiced in the past three decades put together. Southern writers have been partially goaded to this by the ineptitudes of a host of commentators on the Southern scene, North and South. These cultural carpet-baggers and scalawags have at least served the useful purpose of stimulating abler thinkers into a reassessment of the contemporary South's peculiar institutions. But the newer school of interpreters were driven even more, I suspect, by the growing pains of industrialization, of which North Carolina's severe attack of Gastonitis may be taken as typical and which the Danville strike now serves to keep fresh in the memory. What these new interpreters make of the shifting currents of Southern life may be worth summarizing.

In the first place, they assume rightly or wrongly that the fundamental differences which the title of this article implies are non-existent. How violently this assertion of differences is made can be gathered from the title of the agrarian symposium recently published by Twelve Southerners, mostly from Nashville, "I'll Take My Stand." Though the tone of these twelve Neo-Confederates varies somewhat with each paper in the symposium, the general note is a rebel yell of defiance at the encroachments of industrialism and its Yankee ways and a call to arms that urges Southerners to stick to the land. This call to arms is of course the easiest thing in the world to laugh at, and many Southerners have done their share of laughing; but I hardly think laughter was the appropriate response. For the book at least helped other Southern writers to focus the attention of the South on its principal problem since the South lived as military districts under Northern rule. And it served also to reiterate and make precise the real differences between the people of the South and the rest of the Union.

Glance at those differences. No European in his senses would ignore them. The American jingo finds them inconvenient to examine—or would find them so if he knew anything about them. They are profound historic differences; and parts of the Old South have more than three centuries of history. That is plenty to give them significance.

As John Crowe Ransom points out in "I'll Take My Stand," whatever historians may have made of the "Puritan and Cavalier" myth—and I think they have chiefly misunderstood it, as historians are inclined to do when faced with a good myth—the prevailing note of New England and the States it populated was dissent from the European tradition and the desire to create a better and therefore different world. The prevailing note of those who led the Southern settlements was a desire to expand the European mode. This distinction, which will be hotly denied, can be illustrated by recalling the arrival of three groups in America. In 1607 the London Company founded the first permanent English settlement on these shores, in Virginia, for commercial profit. In 1619 a Dutch slaver brought the first shipload of Negroes who, with later increments and their descendants, were to furnish the manual labor for the development of the Virginia system throughout the South. A year later, the Pilgrim Fathers hove into Plymouth and started the commercial, industrial, and in short "American" system that was destined with Grant's aid to triumph over the other.

Two centuries and a half later that triumph was complete and Dr. Beard's "American Leviathan" was under way, a somewhat reconditioned Mayflower. With this significant result: Southerners are the only members of the optimistic, self-confident, and always victorious American nation who have tasted crushing military defeat, government by bayonet in an "occupied area," and a completer expropriation of their goods than ever befell any Anglo-Saxon community since Norman William seized England. Whether or not Walther Rathenau was right when he said that only those nations which had known defeat had souls, the experience of complete subjection does things. For one thing, no people whose recent past was finer in its own judgment than its present can avoid a certain skepticism when it meets boundless confidence. Even so slight an incident as Hoover prosperity can demonstrate that.

Finally, with the federal government in the hands of an industrial plutocracy, the almost purely agrarian South was left for decades in a state of unsplendid isolation, its leaders dead, emigrated, or emigrating; its capital resources destroyed; at the mercy of "foreign" capital. It was during that period that she learned distrust of outsiders and that she learned to sentimentalize and exaggerate her own peculiarities or even those traits she mistakenly considered peculiar. This has led to a vast deal of easy but impotent sentimental-

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izing on the part of those who would normally have been effective leaders or drastic critics. Out of this situation developed the elaborate defense mechanisms of the contemporary South.

And now, with terrific suddenness, the South is being industrialized. The Twelve Apostles at Nashville are shouting that the South should show herself as impermeable and refractory as possible, that she should combat these new carpet-baggers with their higher standard of living and instalment buying and their new American economic system that had till so recently solved the problem of cyclic depression and overproduction. Other Southerners have regretted the passing of the picturesque but have insisted on the inevitability of the economic process and rejoiced that the South would through industry secure the underwriting she had once gained through cotton and cane. And some have added that she should profit by the experience of other communities and apply immediately to the disease of industrialization the antitoxins tardily developed in England, New England, and other industrialized societies.

But it is the cry of "Keep the North out," so explicitly raised at Nashville, that seems to me most characteristic of the young South when it tries to think through its problems. The Nashville agrarians are mostly young men, some very young, in hearty insurrection against the Southerners of two decades ago who, tired of pouting in the corner, looked to the North, to popular education, general prosperity, and progress for salvation. The Nashvilleans have punctured those slogans. But if there is one conspicuous fault in their book it is that they do not seem aware that these slogans had already been punctured in the North. That they should have punctured them in the South and for Southerners is a good thing nevertheless; that they should have cited the older Southern tradition was politically a wise thing. But they ought, as a matter of mere tactics, to have recognized their allies wherever they found them. Their allies are not, as they evidently suppose, the farm bloc of the Middle West. Middle Western agrarianism has very little in common with the agrarian tradition of the South. Their allies are disillusioned Northerners, who have seen through the messianic prophecies of the high-pressure industrialist; who willingly use his gadgets if they feel a need for them; but who object to gadget-worship, who decline to canonize progress or deify prosperity.

If the North, which has for sixty years enjoyed vastly greater wealth, broader contacts with the outside world, and a wider and more rapid dissemination of cross-fertilizing ideas, still holds to its ridiculous picture of the South, it is perhaps not surprising that the side that lost, and that lived in isolation, should confuse machine production with the tradition of laissez-faire capitalism under which the North adopted and improved it. But Nashville should stop talking about "the North"; discriminate between those in the North who still believe in Santa Claus and those who are less interested in "Protection and Prosperity" than in leading interesting lives in a civilized manner; and restate the South's own tradition in terms of whatever useful things the North can offer. Throughout the Southern press a controversy has raged about "I'll Take My Stand!" The quickest way to find out what stand is worth taking toward industry in the South is to drop the Southern folk-concept of "the North" as a homogeneous unit of go-getters with a good line of sales talk and plenty of "personality." The most interesting element in the North—most interesting anyhow to me as a Southerner—has already recognized the distinctive attributes of the South. If these Northerners would take the next step and recognize in those attributes an elder American tradition submerged by violence but now resurgent, a tradition sufficiently their own to rob it of its right to be called merely "the South," then—well, then there would indeed be no North, no South. But not in the sense in which Grant used the phrase to Lee. Or was it Grant?

Danville: Labor's Southern Outpost

By LOUIS STANLEY

Danville, Va., January 10

YOU travel westward across the State of Virginia, past snow-spotted mountain ridges, past scraggy fields that have recently grown tobacco, past windowless stone and clay buildings where the leaves were cured not long ago, until you arrive at the city of Danville with its population of 22,000. There you are suddenly hurled into a unique industrial conflict of major proportions. Four thousand men and women are in revolt against the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Inc., the largest cotton-goods company below the Mason and Dixon line, and the central issue of their strike is the right to form a union of their own.

The trouble started when the management decided a year or two ago to extricate itself at the expense of the workers from the difficulties caused by the depression in the cotton-goods industry. The company had been paying 10 per cent on its common stock for years. In 1922 it had paid 20 per cent. There had been various extra dividends. In 1929 for the first time the company took dividends out of surplus. President Fitzgerald in his annual report to the stockholders stated that in many respects the year had been the most unsatisfactory since the World War.

In order to meet the new competitive conditions the company set out upon a policy of squeezing all the work it could out of its employees. A Boston engineering firm was engaged to introduce a speed-up system. Soon engineers overran the plant. The result was the "stretch-out," a scheme whereby the amount of work per worker was "stretched out," often doubled, while his wages were decreased. Part-time work aggravated the situation. On top of all this the company announced early in January, 1930, a 10 per cent wage cut to take effect February 1, regardless of the opposition of the employees' representatives in the company union that was euphemistically called "Industrial Democracy." In February the workers, having lost what little faith might have remained in the paternalism of the company, became a local of the United Textile Workers of America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

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The company did its best to break the back of the union. It had to reduce its working force because of curtailed production, the "stretch-out," and reorganization of its plants to accommodate new lines. It hit upon the idea of accomplishing both its ends by discharging the most active union members. The workers never knew who would be without work next, and for a textile worker to be unemployed in a one-company town is to starve. Even their miserable homes, spreading through the neighboring mill village at Schoolfield, "like a poultry farm with telephone booths," as one of the strikers described them, are owned by the company. Finally, an ultimatum had to be given to the management to cease its attacks upon union members and reinstate those who had lost their positions. When the strike finally broke out on September 29, the union was already paying $1,600 a week for the relief of the victimized members. The walk-out may have come at a poor strategic moment, but the workers had no choice. They had to strike for the life of their union. Wages, hours, and working conditions have become unimportant.

There are many significant things about this strike. Long before it began the Danville situation had been attracting the attention of the entire South. The plant involved is the outstanding mill producing cotton goods in that region. Not only is it important because of its size but as a pioneer in the industrial revolution of the South—it will soon round out a half-century of existence—it has built up a remarkable reputation for integrity and efficiency. Its president, Harry R. Fitzgerald, is a prominent personality in the cotton industry. Its welfare work and its "Industrial Democracy" scheme of employee representation in management have won it many friends. The wages it has paid to its workers have been among the highest in the South. Whatever happens to the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills will influence industrial relations in the South, particularly in textiles.

It is true that when President Green came to Danville to offer mediation to the company in an address to eight thousand strikers and their friends standing in a cold tobacco warehouse, he told the reporters that the success of the unionization of the South did not depend solely upon the outcome in Danville. To that extent he was right. Nevertheless, we must not underestimate the effect that victory or defeat will have. In other textile centers in the Piedmont workers have their eyes riveted upon Danville, as the writer found upon visiting Leaksville, Reidsville, Spray, and Greensboro, North Carolina. North Carolina, it will be remembered, is now the leading cotton-goods manufacturing State, while the South accounts for more than half of the production of the country.

Employers throughout the South are watching Danville, too. The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Inc., was the first to undertake wage-cutting below the Mason and Dixon line, following the onslaught of the "stretch-out." Everywhere manufacturers are withholding attacks upon their workers until they see what happens in Danville and it is generally understood that they stand ready to help President Fitzgerald and his company whenever it seems necessary.

This strike is vital also because of the human element in it. In most textile centers in the South the workers are fresh from the hills and farms. They are individualistic. They are unacquainted with one another. They do not understand industrial discipline. In Danville the situation is different. The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills have given employment to generations of the same family. The workers are a homogeneous group. They are used to factory existence. They know how to work together. That is why they have been able to develop such a remarkable communal life during the strike and why Francis Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, and Matilda Lindsay, of the Women's Trade Union League, who were sent in by the A. F. of L. to run the strike, have been able to leave so much responsibility in the hands of the strikers and the magnificent local leaders.

Then, too, unlike most textile workers in the South those in Danville have some tradition of the labor movement. Thirty years ago a strike took place there in which one thousand men and women demanded the ten-hour day. Technically the strikers were defeated; nevertheless, the ten-hour day was established, partly by State legislation and partly by consent of the company. The workers have always felt they won a moral victory and today young people on strike will upon their own initiative tell what they know of the grand affair of three decades ago about which their fathers, grandfathers, or other relatives have told them. Among workers who a year ago had no union you will actually find union families much as one meets them in the coal fields.

There have been other attempts at unionism and, indeed, the inauguration of the "Industrial Democracy" in 1919 was to stop the spread of the movement. The skilled loom-fixers, however, have managed to maintain an organization. They had been affiliated as a local with the National Loom-Fixers' Association of America for about six years, when in 1925 they broke away and formed the Loom-Fixers' Southern Association of America. The Danville local remained the only one in the new organization. The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills recognized the loom-fixers' union without signing a written agreement. Wages and disputes were adjusted by negotiations and no strike was ever called. Even the introduction of the "stretch-out" found the loom-fixers fairly well off. It was the 10 per cent cut that struck them their first telling blow. In the meantime they had come to realize that their isolation left them in a weak position and that affiliation with the A. F. of L. organization, the United Textile Workers, was highly desirable.

This leads us to another feature of the Danville conflict. Often a strike occurs and then organizers are asked to come in to save the day or "outside agitators" enter the field and stir up trouble. Here the A. F. of L. had the opportunity to lay the ground-work in its own way. When the oppression of the company had become unbearable, workers approached the loom-fixers already affiliated with the A. F. of L. to take the leadership in organizing all the employees in the mills for united resistance. Through the efforts of the loom-fixers, A. F. of L. organizers came into Danville. The first mass meeting was held in the city on February 9 and Local 1685 of the United Textile Workers was chartered. Within a few weeks practically all the workers in the mills were members of the union. The organization work continued through the spring and summer, which was marked by a huge parade of more than four thousand marchers, a Labor Chautauqua, and tremendous open-air

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meetings in the parks. The whole city throbbed with the organization campaign.

Another unusual aspect of the strike is the absence of sensational occurrences that would bring the struggle frequently and dramatically before newspaper readers. Outside of the South even friends of the labor movement are little informed of what has been taking place. This comparative tranquillity has been due to the peculiar relationship of the strikers to the rest of the local population. They have had a great deal of sympathy from the community in spite of the powerful interests on the side of the company. The workers in the mills come from families that have been living in Danville and vicinity for many generations. They permeate the life of the city. They constitute large blocs in the fraternal societies. Even the Ku Klux Klan is under their control. A policeman lost his membership in it for lack of union sympathy. In the schools the main task of the teachers is to keep the children from discussing the strike during class hours. Merchants have contributed to the cause of the strikers and in any case have not cared to displease them for fear of the loss of patronage. Some of the owners of the tobacco warehouses have donated the use of their buildings to the union for special occasions.

The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Inc., however, dominates the city and of course controls the mill village of Schoolfield completely. The company's shares of stock are widely distributed in Danville but the majority are in the hands of a few wealthy citizens, who speak through President Fitzgerald. Among the largest stockholders are James R. Prichett, president of the biggest bank in town, the First National, and Rorer James, publisher of the city's two dailies, the *Register* (morning) and the *Bee* (afternoon.) The first gentleman has great influence with the business men and the second is responsible for the publication of strike news in a light so unfavorable to the workers that the latter have coined the epigram, "The *Register* does not register and the *Bee* stings." The ministers have dodged the issue or declared themselves in opposition to the strikers. Only one or two have dared to help the union. Naturally, the strikers' respect for the church has considerably diminished.

The union's first flush of mass picketing by the light and warmth of bonfires and stoves has been eliminated by means of injunctions, special city and county police, and State troops. This interference by the government has impeded the progress of the strike and made workers talk of taking a more active part in politics. The militia has not been as hostile as might be expected and is now being gradually withdrawn. The strike has been on the whole peaceful—the few cases of dynamiting have been attributed by the union to the efforts of strike-breakers to insure to themselves police protection. The city police generally come from the same social strata as the strikers and are not so vicious as police have been under similar circumstances. Of course, there have been unjustified arrests and even the throwing of a tear-gas bomb to disperse pickets.

As the strike has progressed the business men have become uneasy. Trade has been seriously affected. The bank clearings of the three commercial banks of Danville have declined from $117,964,109 in 1929 to $98,519,909 in 1930. Time deposits have diminished. There have been many failures of retail stores. The added expense to the city and county of maintaining police and to the State of keeping militiamen in the field has called forth the resentment of taxpayers. Secretly many merchants would now like to see the end of the strike, no matter who wins.

The outcome of the Danville strike will determine the speed with which the unionization of the South will proceed. There is now an upturn in the cotton-goods market and the company will be wanting to fill orders. Relief, therefore, becomes an urgent necessity. Those who wish to further the organization of the workers in the South must contribute generously and without delay.

In the Driftway

THE family album is not what it used to be but the Drifter has reason to know that it still has its place in the hinterland of America. And on such occasions as Christmas it is brought out, in fun or in respectful silence. The Drifter will never forget one cordial father-in-law whom he overheard conducting his son's wife through the stiff-backed, double-faced gallery of the treasured book. "These are my parents," he said as he paused at a place. "This," he continued, as he pointed at the early Victorian gentleman with whiskers on the left, "is my father." "And this," he went on relentlessly, indicating the sweet-faced lady on the right, "is my mother."

* * * * *

BUT even if the album, along with the huge picture of father, young and smooth of face, that used to have a gilded easel of its own, has disappeared from the parlor, it still exists in its irreducible elements, the pictures themselves. And it is not always a cheering thought that in some long-shut bureau drawer, in some deserted attic, or, it may be, in a second-hand store, lie the depositions of our former selves—at six months looking natural for the last time, or at six years holding a new and silly toy without which the photographer would have been faced with a tearful countenance and a sulky mouth. As the years went by, and each child became less of a novelty and delight to his family, the photographs dwindled in size and number, but undoubtedly there was a graduation picture for the eighth grade, for high school, and for college. The whole story is there for anyone to see. One young man of the Drifter's acquaintance tells how in a burst of unhumble generosity at the age of ten he gathered up all the records of a blond and much-photographed childhood and distributed them among the neighbors. By that method, to be sure, he destroyed the damning continuity of his pictorial record. But assuming that the pictures were not labeled clearly, such tactics have their disadvantages. How long did those neighbors remember the name of the blond cherub which bore no resemblance to the other cherubs in the box of pictures? Not for long. And while an old photograph recognized and in its proper setting may be at least amusing, there is something sad and baffling about an old portrait whose identity has been lost. The human mind demands a name for every thing, whether the name means anything or not. And so the Drifter hopes that if any of his baby pictures have gone astray in a cruel world each one is duly labeled The Drifter.

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THE impulse which gives rise to photographs is born of an understandable and pathetic human frailty, the desire to preserve the moment. But there are times when it ceases to be either understandable or touching. The Drifter is thinking now of some of the family groups that he has gazed upon, and particularly of one in which he himself was—and is—irrevocably posed. When he was extremely young he lived in a house which suffered the distinction one wild autumn night of having its entire roof blown off by a wind that has not yet been forgotten in those parts. The Drifter remembers vividly the moment when the house was finally abandoned for a neighbor's hospitality. He was blown into a ditch on the perilous journey. And he recalls how the roof looked the next morning as it rested almost intact on top of the orchard lot beside the house. He remembers also, though he has never been able to explain the parental motive, that he was summoned home from school one bright morning a few days after the storm to find every other member of the family—and a photographer—waiting for him. The family was forthwith stationed about the ruins at scattered points and a picture was taken of the roofless house and the roofed orchard, the prostrate picket fence and the fallen poplar tree. Presently there was added to the family collection one dozen large-sized photographs of that memorable scene. And while the Drifter is on the subject he cannot help recalling the episode of the family portrait in "The Vicar of Wakefield." The portrait, it will be recalled, depicted each member of the household holding an orange in his hand and the work was pronounced satisfactory in every way—until the fatal fact was discovered that the picture was so large that it could not pass through the door of the house. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Yellow-Dog Injunction

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of December 31 is an article under the caption The Yellow-Dog Injunction which in every line breathes class hatred, prejudice, and animosity against employers of labor. It seems to me that the author goes too far in assuming that unionized labor represents the true interest of the wage-earners in this country, since unionized labor comprises only about 3,000,000 or 10 per cent of our 35,000,000 wage-earners.

Organized labor has chosen its seat in Washington, close to the law-makers. It is carrying on an intensive propaganda for laws which would enlarge its powers for mischief. These are not in the true interest of the workers and have no support from 90 per cent of their number who decline to be coerced into unions. The small minority desires, however, to rule not only the employed but also the employers. Free laborers refusing to be unionized are called scabs. Equitable contracts between employers and employees, with both sides represented by counsel, are misrepresented as forced and called yellow-dog contracts because they impose obligations on the employed as well as on the employer.

The militant methods of irresponsible unionized labor in calling strikes and bedeviling employers with arbitrary working rules and systematically creating class hatred are a distinct menace to society. All these tactics are practiced by the union heads merely from lust for power and from greed, taxing the union members for their comfortable but parasitical existence.

The courts in most cases see through the screen of hypocrisy and misrepresentation and therefore seek to protect life and property by injunction against unlawful and riotous acts of the misled and excited men. If here and there a court should transgress just limits, there are always the higher courts to curb them.

The Nation seems to have made itself the mouthpiece of unionized labor and its coercive means and methods. In fairness to its readers, of whom the great majority, I am sure, are drawn neither from the labor unions nor from the capitalists, but from the cultured middle class of moderate means, *The Nation* should get an impartial author to analyze and illuminate the other side of the controversy concerning the yellow-dog injunction. This would be in consonance with the principles of fairness in a journal which pretends to serve justice and the public weal.

Jersey City, N. J., January 1 SUBSCRIBER

Better Ideals than Regular Meals

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. George Selenine's mental reaction to Mr. Corey's article on Insuring Wages is hardly as unique as your publication of his protest would lead one to expect. Several of my acquaintances who read the article in question raised precisely the same objections. Insuring wages implies placing them on a par with dividends. The recipients of dividends are people who have saved their money which they possibly earned in the form of wages; wage-earners are often persons who have squandered their money; to insure the steady flow of wages would encourage them in their profligacy and, incidentally, defraud them of the chance of ever attaining to the dignity of receiving dividends.

The man of wealth in the Middle West, very unlike his compeer in other lands, is a benefactor of mankind, for he does not hoard his money but invests it, chiefly to provide employment for his less fortunate and often less virtuous brothers. This is the credo of the Middle West, shared by poor and rich alike and most vociferously and strenuously defended by the poor. In fact, the leaner the pocket-book of a man, the less he feels inclined to part with the hope of ever having a full one. Any proposal that aims at interference with the legitimate pursuit of gathering wealth is instantly stigmatized as socialism, and socialism, as we all know or should know, is chiefly objectionable not because it aims at despoiling the rich but because it aims at taking the hope of becoming rich from the poor, and hence "leaves them nothing to work for."

Clinton, Iowa, December 28 J. C. MENZEL

Have the Farmers Had Enough?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: F. J. Steidl in his communication to *The Nation* of December 31 submits figures and statements to show that the farmers are in a sorry situation. He remarks that "agriculture has long been bled by organized and highly protected industry."

No honest, intelligent person will deny the truth of Mr. Steidl's assertions. But now one wonders if the farmers have finally had enough. Will they, in the future, refuse to support the party and system which has squeezed them dry? It is

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generally believed that the farmers, as a class, have quite consistently supported the party now in power. Who is to blame for their plight except the so-called leaders of that party?

Mr. Steidl also mentions the fact that he has been reading *The Nation* for many years, so it may be taken for granted that he is not one of those who have been misled by the campaign and platform pledges of the Republican Party in the past. But most farmers have.

St. Paul, Minn., January 1 B. C. BORRESON

We Are Ukrainians

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When *The Nation* printed the article The Polish Terror in Galicia, I pointed out to a friend: "But look—we are called Ruthenians." And he answered: "To be exact, the writer says: 'the Ukrainians *or* Ruthenians.' Everybody understands that he means Ukrainians." I let the matter go. After all, a rose by any other name —

But then in another issue of *The Nation* I read in an editorial: "However, even before he set out to suppress the Ruthenian and German minorities . . ." I decided to write and set my mind at ease.

We Ukrainians have been given many names in the course of the centuries. We have been called Little Russians, Red Russians, plain Russians, Rusins, Rusnaks, Ruthenians. The habit among other nations of giving us many names has no doubt helped to make of us a Cinderella among the peoples—unloved, uncared for, and unwanted. However, a day came when we gazed into a brighter future. And we Ukrainians sometime ago decided to give up all old names once and for all time and cling to the name Ukrainians.

The term Ruthenians is quite passé. We were called Ruthenians in the heyday of the Austrian Empire, but in truth it has no more meaning than the term Little Russians, which was imposed upon us by the Russian government of other days.

We who speak the language of Shevtchenko and Franko call ourselves Ukrainians and we wish to be called Ukrainians by others no matter whether we come from the Ukraine of Kiev or from East Galicia. The word Ruthenians is misleading and may I say somewhat insulting, for, after all, people very naturally prefer to be called by the name that rightfully belongs to them.

New York, January 1 MARIE GAMBEL

Cow-Catchers for Pedestrians

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In view of the tens of thousands of persons killed annually by automobiles in the United States (two-thirds of them women and children) I think it will be admitted that no means of saving human lives should be neglected. I, therefore, propose that every motor vehicle should be equipped with a fender expressly designed to save the lives of pedestrians. Most of the street tramways and railway engines in the United States are, if I remember rightly, equipped with such life-saving fenders, designed to pick up, with as little injury as possible, any person who may be struck, and carry him until the car can be stopped.

The fender at present used by automobiles is, on the contrary, intended only to preserve the car itself from injury. Practically, it must be very efficient in breaking a pedestrian's leg at the knee or fracturing a little child's skull.

Basle, Switzerland, December 20 BERTRAND SHADWELL

A Word of Cheer

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is, of course, quite possible for a subscriber to renew and to sit quietly by saying nothing. But I feel that I should, once every so often, express the fact that I like *The Nation* immensely. It is perhaps unfortunate that I agree with its dicta so frequently that it seldom moves me to fervid correspondence. Its clarity remains a delight as well as an inspiration and I trust I may be forgiven, as rather an old subscriber now, for agreeing more often than I disagree with the material you present.

Mt. Rainier, Md., January 3 T. SWANN HARDING

100,000 Fords

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my article on Russian "Dumping" in your issue of December 17, through a mistake in typing, it was stated that the Soviet Union five years, perhaps four years, from now will be manufacturing 1,000,000 Fords. It should have been 100,000.

Berlin, January 1 LOUIS FISCHER

Literary Requests Josh Billings

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am writing a life of Henry Wheeler Shaw (Josh Billings). I should like to communicate with anyone who has letters from him or information about him. Letters should be addressed to me at the Mark Twain Society, Webster Groves, Missouri.

Webster Groves, Mo., December 8 CYRIL CLEMENS

Richard Hengist Horne

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am writing a biography of Richard Hengist Horne (1803-1884), adventurer, journalist, critic, dramatist, poet ("Orion," 1843, republished 1929, Scholartis Press).

I shall be grateful to scholars and collectors who will communicate with me at 120 Derby Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, regarding any letters, original manuscripts (published or unpublished), or special information concerning Mr. Horne.

Columbus, Ohio, December 15 ERI J. SHUMAKER

Dr. Mary E. Walker

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am in quest of biographical material concerning that most active, interesting, and eccentric woman, Dr. Mary E. Walker, and would like to get in touch with anyone who knew her, or with anyone who could and would lend me for a short time letters, clippings, or documents of any kind relating to her. My address is 1306 South 35th Avenue, Omaha, Nebraska.

Omaha, December 28 MRS. CHARLES W. M. POYNTER

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Books, Drama, Films

The Hunted Fox

By SONIA RUTHELE NOVAK

If I can find the cave, where once I fell
When I was but an awkward, ambling cub,
In high, deceptive vine and leafy shrub,
I'll hide an hour or two. (I did not tell
My mother then, for any fox knows well
How secrets always pay.) And I shall scrub
My nose in hollow-nesting sand; and rub
My haunches on the walls where spiders dwell.

My tongue will catch the trickling, tonic drip
Of seepings, cool and dank. But there's the horn!
The wind will shift my scent! And now hounds slip
Across the hill! My brush whips under thorn
As guileless hooves bring redcoats down the dip
To jingle bits, and circle me with scorn.

Pictures for Songs

Monografía de 406 grabados de José Guadalupe Posada. Introduction in English and Spanish by Frances Toor and Diego Rivera. Mexico City: Mexican Folkways: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.

THE name of José Guadalupe Posada is probably known to only a few dozen Americans and probably to a very limited circle of Mexican painters and writers. But though his name is shrouded in obscurity, his work was known and loved by more Mexicans than any artist before or after him. No unprostituted artist of real merit has ever held sway over so large a percentage of the population of his country as did Posada. For more than thirty years he definitely and continuously shaped public opinion. He molded the aesthetic values of the masses; he directed their thoughts and their ideals. No man was too lowly to read and appreciate Posada's message. More than Madero, Zapata, or Santañon, he prepared the Mexican revolution which overthrew Díaz in 1910. He wrote his ideas in clear, large letters upon the minds and hearts of his people, made concrete for them their sorrows, their weaknesses, their strength, their enslavement, and their hopes. So akin to the mass of Mexican people was he, that he passed by unheralded. Yet he helped to forge a nation's soul—a great spirit who worked in poverty and humbleness, an almost anonymous genius.

The Mexican revolution has been described as a mass rebellion against the tyrannies of Díaz, a movement which sprang armed from the dust of despair, but which had no preliminary philosophers to shape its ideals. It had Posada, the artist, who spoke in narrative pictographs in a language intelligible to the common people long before the Spanish conquest. The revolution has since produced the agrarian race leaders Zapata and Carrillo, the novelist Azuela, the painters Rivera and Orozco—to mention the only important persons who have not defiled their trust; but Posada made the revolution.

Is this an exaggeration? In the time of Díaz over 90 per cent of the population was illiterate. But the Mexican masses have never lost their plastic perceptions. Decoration, design, painting have played an intimate role in the life of the remotest pueblo—in the adornment of stores and pulque shops, of walls and stoves, the painting of *retablos* for the churches, the making of chests, lacquer ware, fabrics, and a hundred other common objects. The Mexican masses could not read, but for thirty years, from one end of Mexico to the other, they looked at the zinc etchings of Posada. He produced fifteen thousand cuts to illustrate the stories, the legends, the songs and prayers of the common people. Not only did he influence the literate of the capital and larger provincial centers in a series of pungent satirical magazines such as *Argos*, *La Patria*, *El Ahuizote*, and *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, in which with unflagging zeal and mordant satire he ridiculed the Díaz regime, but his sketches circulated into the remotest sierras. He worked for a pittance for the leading publishing house of popular literature, Vanegas Arroyo, in a carriage entrance beside the church of Santa Inez and the San Carlos Academy of Fine Arts, turning out unsigned masterpieces, which were printed on cheap, spongy, colored paper as illustrations for popular ballads to be sent out to all parts of the country. No one knew the author, but everyone read his message.

Posada died in 1913, but one may still vividly understand how these ballads were disseminated. Go to the smallest town in Mexico, and in the market, spread out on canvas, are heaps of these ballads. They are a cross between a newspaper and a song. They herald the latest events in verse. Many of those sold today still carry the illustrations of Posada. Often they are peddled by blind itinerant musicians, who sing them so that the buyers can repeat the tunes on the far ranches during the siestas and under the stars. While the songs are being played, the leaflets are passed from hand to hand, and though the hearers cannot read they enjoy the illustrations.

All of Posada's cuts not worn out, lost, or stolen during the revolution have been dug out of dustheaps, remounted, and reproduced in this volume through the efforts of Frances Toor, the editor of *Mexican Folkways*, and the artist Paul O'Higgins—406 out of 15,000. Much could have been added to the volume by more intelligent arrangement and by proper notes: an admirable opportunity for an epic portrayal of thirty odd years of Mexican life; but the editors cannot be severely taken to task in view of the service they have rendered in salvaging what was left of Posada; as Rivera says, "so integrated with the popular soul of Mexico that perhaps his identity will become completely lost." But even from this scant crop, Posada will increasingly be recognized as the father of the modern Mexican art movement, and perhaps as greater, in his way, than any living Mexican artist.

For, quite apart from his social significance, or perhaps in great measure because of it, he is a powerful artist. He made his etchings upon the metal with graver and acid, without preliminary sketches, as though he desired the most direct expression possible of his intense concepts. He did this for his daily bread, but in every line there is recorded an uncorrupted soul, with a genial universality, a comprehensive pity and tolerance, wedded to a bitter hatred of injustice; and withal a spirit inimitably, unmistakably Mexican. His work is racy, of the soil, constantly at grips with all of life as he knows it and evaluates it, so passionately provincial that it transcends all provincialism.

All of Mexico is here, its despotisms and cruelties, its revolution, its triumphs and its defeats. He spares neither rich nor poor, powerful nor humble, arraigning them all, now violently, now with comprehensive geniality. He makes the macabre suavely respectable, and that which is respectable is stripped to its inner corruption. He tells of executions by rope and bullet, of martyrdom, of the separation of loved ones, of prisoners, of riots, and jealousy and vengeance. He loves demons and skulls and dwarfs and queer people; and his demons are more

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demoniacal than the worst dream; and his skulls jovially ape all the foibles of man. He is melodramatic, at times gruesome, but a quirk of humor or naivete holds his delineations to a simplicity greater than any sophistication and hence satisfying to the most sophisticated. He loves paradox. His pompous generals and politicians are bloated with death; he makes the white bones of death dance and carouse and love and hate with inimitable drollery. His quietest pictures are tense with a quality of motion; and he flings galloping horsemen into a rhythmic frieze, clutching into a few inches of space the whole abstract concept of movement by a paradoxical fixity.

To know the work of Posada is a thrilling aesthetic and intellectual experience. Writes Diego Rivera:

> The production of Posada, free of even a shadow of imitation, has a pure Mexican quality. By analyzing the work of Posada, a complete understanding of the social life of the Mexican people can be obtained. . . . His work because of its form comprehends all plastic, and because of its content comprehends all life.

In Posada's work, toward later years, there is the groundswell of disillusion. His records of the violences of the revolution lose all trace of geniality, grow more bitter, but never quite so bitter as his skull of the bloodthirsty reactionary Huerta attached to the body of a loathsome spider.

Fortunately he did not live long enough to see the cause he espoused betrayed by those sworn to protect it.

CARLETON BEALS

American Churches

The Story of Religions in America. By William Warren Sweet. Harper and Brothers. $4.

EVEN those authors of treatises on the gods to whom all religions tell the same old story must find something amazing in this volume. For religion appears here luxuriantly variegated by all its earthly and unearthly forms; so that no candid reader with half an eye for truth can close the book with the feeling of understanding the essence of all religions. He must rather confess that the ways of the Lord are altogether marvelous.

What makes Professor Sweet's "Story" so powerful is that the facts are allowed to speak for themselves. There is a minimum of moralizing. With considerable skill he has interwoven the tortuous histories of the many churches in America in order that each may be understood in relation to the others. There is no single story, no inner plot. The intricate mass of ecclesiastical events is set before us quite clearly by a competent historian and preacher, who is therefore to be doubly congratulated on writing a history without an obvious moral.

I cannot repeat the outlines of the story, however, without venturing upon the moral. One after another the various denominations of European malcontents are served up and scrambled into that raw potpourri known as the American people. We see the religious outcasts of Europe transplanted to the New World, each group seeking to live here by the truths for which it had fought at home—and finding this more positive task more difficult! But instead of devoting themselves to a free cultivation of their cults, the colonists soon lose themselves in the American wilderness. Their European background fades and they scatter like wildfire wherever free and fertile lands lure them. They become pioneers, wildmen, restless, homeless, illiterate. Their religions accordingly become enthusiastic, orgiastic, fantastic. From this emotional wilderness American religions have not yet been able to recover their intellectual balance, for each time they have seemed to be on the point of producing something significant, some new wave of dispersion has destroyed their infant culture. The Puritan Congregationalists, for example, were just getting nicely settled in worldly wisdom and worldly goods when a wave of relatively bigoted Scotch-Irish Presbyterians hit them and insisted on staging what they called a Great Awakening. Then came several waves of still more enthusiastic and illiterate Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists, who had a "deep-seated prejudice against educated and salaried ministers" (p. 314), and who itinerated madly on horseback over huge circuits exhorting, "felling" sinners, and organizing the "great popular churches." These churches in turn might have settled down to being civilized had they not been "burnt over" successively by the enthusiasms of abolitionism, civil war, and big business. As it is, the recurrent periods of "spiritual deadness" with all their aridity are refreshing when compared with the fierce blasts of religious epidemics.

Professor Sweet wisely refrains from saying all this. Others may find something else written between the lines. The lines themselves are freighted with facts, and these are far from cold. They pique the imagination and invite speculation.

The narrative proper ends with the Reconstruction period; the last chapter, being devoted to everything since that period, is necessarily little more than an outline for a second volume. Perhaps it is just as well that Professor Sweet closed his story where he did, for probably neither he nor anyone else could now tell the recent story with the detachment and honesty which characterize his narrative of the earlier events. Nevertheless, we are impatient to hear the rest of the story from him. The growth of Catholicism since the Irish immigration, the new inventions in Judaism, theosophy, and other non-Christian religions, as well as the intellectual and social liberalism within recent Protestantism, would add interesting chapters.

The author is at his best in describing the westward migrations and the way in which the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists built their imposing national organizations out of the crude resources of the frontier. The social and political power of these organizations, now seeking to combine their forces, gives added point to the amusing statement quoted from the Calvinistic Congregationalist Nathaniel Emmons, who would have nothing to do with these expansive tendencies on the ground that "Association leads to Consociation; Consociation leads to Presbyterianism; Presbyterianism leads to Episcopacy; Episcopacy leads to Roman Catholicism; and Roman Catholicism is an ultimate fact" (p. 296).

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER

The Death of Gaiety

The Decline of Merry England. By Storm Jameson. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

IN the age of Cobden the fall of the Stuart monarchy was one of God's favors to the Anglo-Saxon race. The twentieth century is not so certain. Laud and Wentworth were trying to regulate business in the interests of the common good. With the victory of Puritanism certain things which we would gladly recover disappeared from English soil—pagan festivals and a sense of tradition, national music and dancing, a physical pride and sense of well-being. Such writers as Mr. Tawney have revised certain of the dogmas of the whig historians; but we have not yet had a full-length history reinterpreting the Reformation and the Revolution in all their aspects.

Tory-socialist historians are sometimes Catholic, like Mr. Hollis; but more often their bias is Anglican, and, for the chaos of modern industrialism, they blame not the breach with Rome but the victory of the Puritans. Miss Jameson is Anglican:

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she appreciates the significance in English history of the whig families whose power was built on the robbery of the church, and she does not forget the cruelty and self-indulgence of Elizabethan society; but in her opinion "Merry England" reached its climax in the reign of Elizabeth. In spite of her Anglicanism she is artist enough to appreciate the paganism of the poets and buccaneers, and the older indigenous paganism of the common people. In this book she describes this "Merry England"; and then shows how the national cause was betrayed by Stuart incompetence, how Puritan bigotry destroyed the natural cheerfulness and the aesthetic instincts of the English race, and how the old belief in the supremacy of the commonwealth gave place to the individualism of the Puritan merchants and industrialists. She has not made any detailed or scientific analysis of the progress of events, and her debt to Mr. Tawney's "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" is evident on every page; her aim has been to illustrate a preconceived thesis by quotations and anecdotes from contemporary sources.

The evidence presented in this book will be hard to refute. Professor Morison has argued that the Puritans loved good craftsmanship; but a traditional good taste is not destroyed in a single generation, and it is undeniable that they ruined English music, hated the popular festivals, and proposed to tear down the cathedrals. The Puritan ministers were sufficiently medieval to denounce avarice; but in the long run the exaltation of the private conscience against authority, and of the bourgeois virtues of thrift and hard labor against the aristocratic virtue of generosity, produced modern industrialism. The Elizabethans quoted by Miss Jameson lived in a society of traditional beauty and gaiety, rooted in the soil and conscious of its duties to posterity; after the Puritan revolution that society disappeared.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES

Pressure Politics

Labor and Capital in National Politics. By Harwood Lawrence Childs. Ohio State University Press. $3.

PROFESSOR CHILDS adheres to the no longer novel view that the key to an understanding of modern politics is found in the pressure of groups. In illustrating this view he limits his attention to the American Federation of Labor and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. A large part of his book is concerned with the procedural similarities and differences of the two organizations, but the more vital questions of policy and objective are slighted. It is, however, made evident that organized labor and organized capital feel impelled to exert pressure upon government agencies in order to "defend" what they regard as their interests. In this process each group tends to rationalize its conduct, taking for granted that the welfare of the group is identical with that of the public at large.

That deeper issues are involved than might be gathered from much of the discussion is implicit in this statement near the close: "There is every reason to suppose that even today access to the centers of public officialdom is much smoother and easier for the chamber than for the federation." This relative ease of "access" has its chief significance in the fact that the groups examined construe their interests as largely opposed—a fact not to be obscured by the author's view that "at no time in its history has the federation been accorded the favorable recognition that it has been receiving, even by many sections of the employer's world." The greater political pressure the chamber of commerce and allied organizations customarily exert is likely to impress informed persons as being in the nature of things. Business, through property ownership and control, possesses great strategic advantage.

Perhaps this would not be so if organization obtained among wage-earners to the same degree that it does among business men. American unionism is doubtless no stronger than it ie because many wage-earners, faced by self-confident and well-fortified business interests, fear that little is to be gained and that much may be lost through union affiliation. This fear might be overcome in a measure if it were not accompanied by an optimistic individualism which causes many wage-earners to visualize themselves or their children as future members of a class "above" that in which they are temporarily detained. In time, optimism of this kind will doubtless give way before an increasing realization of the meaning of economic tendencies. In that event, unionism will of course rest on a broader base than it does at present under the domination of an aristocracy of skilled workers. And with a greater infusion of machine-tenders and other types of labor relatively lacking in skill, one may anticipate a broadening of the objectives to which labor aspires. To the extent that politics is involved, the technique for attaining these objectives will probably change from the present "non-partisan" policy of the federation to a type of pressure politics that finds expression through a labor party. In consequence, labor's power in Congress and in State legislatures may become appreciably greater.

But one should not be too confident of this. For as long as the preponderant factor of wealth ownership remains substantially unaltered, it is difficult to discern how the essence of government will be much changed. That a large labor-party vote and occasional labor "control of the government" do not of necessity result in marked changes in basic institutions is demonstrated by an examination of the functioning of labor and Socialist parties in Europe. Such concessions as business grants in these European countries are designed to keep the working population sufficiently satisfied for it to permit the substance of ownership and control to remain unimpaired. This outcome appears to be inevitable—as long as the principal forms of property remain in private hands. For until others will assume responsibility for some alternative, the flow of profits must be sufficient to induce *entrepreneurs* to continue in control.

Much of the concern shown by Professor Childs in his last chapter, consequently, seems beside the point. He draws back from the idea that any one group should, through control of the government, control the state, and he goes to some pains to explain that "group" and "state" are different concepts. Traditional definitions in political science may require these distinctions. But by his own evidence Professor Childs makes it clear which group controls the "state."

LYLE W. COOPER

Lawrence

D. H. Lawrence. By Rebecca West. London: Martin Secker. 3s. 6d.

THIS short book bears the authentic marks of Rebecca West's style, such as show themselves in "The Strange Necessity" and even in her recent novel. She thinks by paragraphs. There is a chastening incapacity for the commonplace. There is a prepossession for the discovery of first or final causes—a habit of interjecting "why?"—which is a joy to the philosophic, if not to the lay and lazy, reader. The ground for her interest in Lawrence is novel to most people and typical for her. He "had the earnestness of the Patristic writers" and "like them could know no peace till he had discovered what made men lust after death."

Yet it is just here that Rebecca West's enthusiasm for genius on the defensive makes her pass over, in this brief notice of a personal acquaintance, the man and his work, a

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doubt which most of us entertain about Lawrence. He stands forth as the champion of life against a God-fearing, life-hating Puritanic shame. But was he indeed such—a faun, an evangelic nature-god, a Rampion?

If anyone will study the writings of Lawrence he will find a strange desire, under the guise of friendship, love, eros-worship, to dominate. First, men friends; then a refuge from male resistance in women; then, when these are cloying, tend to mother, do not give the full sense of power, back to the stronger, fighting relation with men—a movement reaching its full expression in "Kangaroo." Again Lawrence fails to dominate—the agony of the war is the agony of the physical reject who wants to be the proud objector—and, in the "Plumed Serpent," he seeks a new refuge, where it is always to be found, in worship of powerful gods who do dominate, as the man Lawrence cannot: who dominate others. Already, in the "Lost Girl," at the end, there is the hint of life, as it alone brings rest, as the dark tide—the insistence upon masochism at least for the other half of humanity. In "Lady Chatterley's Lover" there is the hatred of power (in the crippled aristocrat) which does not bite: the center of the plot is not love unashamed but the rape of power from the powerless—from the other half of Lawrence. In the earlier but more matured "Plumed Serpent," as in "The Woman Who Rode Away," the life-god is avowed as a cruel Aztec god who asks bloody worship and human sacrifice. Reason (not just dead academic intellect such as preoccupies Aldous Huxley) forbids this red anarchy of the passions, so against reason Lawrence raises beckoning standards of revolt.

Freud, in his last book, has come to a recognition, long preached by Adler, of the intertwining of the sadic instinct of destruction with the love instinct. Lawrence, maybe, is the more catholic, to use Rebecca West's symbolism, for including in his one person both Ormuzd and Ahriman. But very certainly he is not just Ormuzd, a god of dawn and noon-sun, a Balder persecuted by wicked men. We fear Lawrence—perhaps it is our frailty: but I do not think so—because, back of all the good denunciation of cant and dead men making life fetid, back of the endearing personality "as little sinister as a humming-bird" and the artist with the gift of making experience tremble with life, his writings, in their deeper soul (so it seems; so, without malice, I suggest), were smudged with the cruel Satanic mines, were smudged with cruel fear.

GEORGE E. G. CATLIN

Warriors for Peace

The Fight for Peace. By Devere Allen. The Macmillan Company. $5.

NO mariner ever thought of trying to sail a ship without a compass and a logbook, and no merchant ever succeeded in doing business without occasionally consulting his ledger. Peace workers, on the contrary, have conducted their campaign against war with almost no reference to the pioneer experience which lay back of their movement. The chief aim of Mr. Allen in writing this admirable book has been to supply the engineers of peace with the lessons of experience, to give them perspective, and to enable them to work on something other than a trial-and-error basis. One should hasten to add that this has not been his sole aim. He believes, and rightly, that there ought to be an adequate record of the organized war against war which enlisted men and women of unusually gifted personalities in battles characterized by hard defeats, illusory successes, agonizing struggles, and some noble victories. By incorporating large masses of first-hand material Mr. Allen makes many of these forgotten, though vivid and vital, people live again. This achievement is the more remarkable because he has followed the topical and analytical rather than the chronological method of presenting his material. Though not a professional historian, Mr. Allen has produced a book which is both scholarly and popular. Characterized by admirable factual accuracy, it is a very valuable contribution to the story of the unofficial peace movement in America.

Few historical works, when they appear, promise to exert very much influence on thought and action. It is perhaps too much to hope that this book, which runs upward of seven hundred pages, will be read widely enough to produce the effect intended by the author. Briefly, the upshot of Mr. Allen's diagnosis of the fight for peace is that its warriors, for the most part, have not been real warriors. The almost perpetual confusion and general ineffectiveness of the opponents of war have been largely due to the fact that their ethical and intellectual points of view have been self-contradictory: they have set about to overthrow the war-method while still retaining a deep-lying faith in that method. Mr. Allen believes that peace advocates, in their great desire to conciliate the civil power, have weakened their cause by constant compromising and by presenting an appeal emotionally inferior to the dramatic, colorful, and consistent appeal of the militarists and patriots.

The only anti-militarists who have not truckled to the point of view and methods of the state have been the anarchists—whom Mr. Allen does not mention at all. While one may have, however, great respect for the courage and consistency of Emma Goldman and her followers, one cannot but ask whether their rigid refusal to compromise with militarism and governmental methods has not been at least as ineffective as the more timid and cautious tactics of the bourgeois pacifists. Although Mr. Allen has sustained with ample evidence his well-deserved indictment of the bulk of conservative peace workers, he has underrated their real contributions. Nor has he entirely explained their half-hearted and fair-weather pacifism. It was, I think, half-hearted and conciliatory, and therefore ineffective, because to a considerable extent it was merely a compensation for increasing militarism and materialism; because it was working in a hostile environment which attached great rewards, pecuniary as well as moral, to war-making; and, as Mr. Allen points out, because it did not ally itself with the labor movement.

Mr. Allen recognizes the validity and importance of multiple complementary approaches to the problem of ending war and securing peace; he evaluates outlawry, international organization, and the protests of religious and economic groups. Nowhere has a more persuasive case been made for the efficacy of war resistance, or the consistent refusal to compromise under any circumstances whatever with the war system. Certainly if war resistance could win the adherence even of Mr. Einstein's 2 per cent of the population, it might be more effective in preventing a possible war between communism and capitalism, or between East and West, than many of the legal, juridical, and international agencies on which so many friends of peace lean so heavily.

Very few men have a deeper or more intelligent appreciation than Mr. Allen of the need of pacifism to provide a pacific agency for social and economic change and adjustment. Possibly he is right in maintaining that the fight for peace can be won, not merely by removing the present economic causes of war, but only by strengthening, broadening, and deepening radical pacifism which refuses under any circumstances to sanction the war method. It is this conviction, which is so brilliantly elaborated in these pages, that makes this book a splendid antidote to the talk of tired peace advocates and of those generally who find slipping away from them their faith in the possibility of reforming the social order by intelligent, concerted action.

MERLE CURTI

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Books in Brief

Mosaic. By G. B. Stern. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

In "Mosaic" Miss Stern, at her brilliant best, lavishes the richness and warmth of her powers on certain groups of that far-flung Rakonitz-Czelovar-Bettleheim family whose ramifications were followed in part in "The Matriarch" and "A Deputy Was King." Her saga may yet win the right to a place beside the family novels of Mann, Galsworthy, Hamsun—novels growing out of a deep emotional sense of those vast river systems of blood, draining a great network of capillaries, coursing down the generations, binding great bodies of human lives together. "Mosaic" is principally about the Paris branch of the family, about Berthe Czelovar and her sister Letti and the comings and goings and doings at their *appartement Seize-Rue-Caumont.* Always at *Seize-Rue-Caumont* there are visiting relatives, other members of this cosmopolitan, Jewish family. Maybe it is little Freda or Tony from London; or Rudi, the great operetta composer, from Vienna; or Etienne and his wife, Camille—née De Jong—from San Remo; or the Matriarch herself. And always letters, or maybe telegrams, containing news of births and deaths and good and bad fortune. So deeply is the story of Berthe immersed in the flux of family affairs that only gradually does the great, warm, selfishly generous, obtuse, frustrated egotist that she is emerge from the mosaic pattern. Only in retrospect, so absorbing are the people and so delightful is the manner, is one able to appreciate the deftness, discipline, and economy that govern the flood of emotional power which surrounds the characters in this book. Miss Stern has not yet received from the critics her full due.

Isabella of Spain. By William Thomas Walsh. Robert M. McBride and Company. $5.

The latest writer to succumb to the fascination of a reign that inspired such great writers as Irving, Lea, and Prescott has produced a biography of a queen whose outstanding characteristics were piety, dignity, courage, and inflexible determination. These traits ideally fitted her for her life work and enabled her to accomplish the impossible. Her chief task was to raise Castile out of the depths of baronial anarchy, unify Spain, and place it in the forefront of European Powers. In this she was eminently successful, but the price paid was high. During the process of achieving unity and prestige, Spain, the most tolerant and democratic nation in Europe, became one of the most intolerant and undemocratic. This unhappy result the author has failed to see, doubtless because of an ardent Catholicism that has prevented him from developing the objectivity so necessary to the true historian. His enthusiasm for Isabella's religious aims has also blinded him to defects in character and has inspired a vigorous defense against writers who have been critical of her policies. The historian Lea particularly offends him and consequently is subjected to a scathing denunciation. Such an attitude has given us a picture of a queen too perfect to be human; a defense too belligerent to be convincing. The respect due the author's conclusions can be somewhat estimated by the fact that his brief bibliography lists the works of Hilaire Belloc and Sabatini but not the standard histories of Merriman and Altamira.

Lyric America. By Alfred Kreymborg. Coward-McCann. $5.

"Lyric America" is an anthology of poetry from 1630 to 1930, and a companion work to Mr. Kreymborg's outline of American poetry, "Our Singing Strength." Both books have the virtues and the vices of books covering, and of necessity rather hastily, a very large field. Both serve merely as outlines, and even in this capacity not very well. Mr. Kreymborg's chief contribution is his research among the very earliest American poets. No other books include these early Colonials. His chief failure lies in the fact that including almost every known poet as he does, he cannot evaluate properly the greater figures. He protests against critics of his first book, against critics in general, in his long introduction, wherein the value of poetry is greatly exalted above that of criticism. We do not disagree with this point. When he states that he has deliberately chosen the inclusive method rather than the critical, we must grant him his choice. But that books of the type of "Lyric America" are of less value than more critically selected anthologies we do affirm, though there is place for both and for many other varieties of anthologies.

Orpheus. Myths of the World. By Padraic Colum. Twenty Engravings by Boris Artzybasheff. The Macmillan Company. $5.

This handsome volume is an attempt to suggest the riches of the earth with respect to the stories of gods and heroes which have flourished on it in all times and places. Mr. Colum, of course, can only hint at these riches; but he does so with great effectiveness, and his renderings of significant tales from seventeen cultures, beginning with the Egyptian and ending with the Zuni, are of such a nature that they may very well lead the reader into further explorations of his own.

The Sculpture and Sculptors of Greece. By Gisela M. Richter. Yale University Press. $12.

First published in a limited edition, this notable work now appears in a less expensive format. While $12 is still a very high price, the book has 750 half-tone illustrations and could hardly have been produced more cheaply. The text is divided into two sections, one dealing with the historical background and the evolution in technique from primitive forms to the classic, the other telling what is known of the sculptors and their works. Well written and displaying keen judgment and ripe scholarship, the book falls short in one respect—it does not satisfactorily account for the one great failure of Greek sculpture, the lack of facial expression. Miss Richter explains that Greek sculptors deliberately chose to generalize the features, for fear that facial individualization might mar the unity of the whole figure. This explanation is unsatisfactory. An inexpressive head on an expressive body destroys unity. The headless Winged Victory, and, indeed, most of the magnificent torsos and decapitated figures that remain to us, are perhaps actually better statues without their heads than they would be had the accidents of time spared them.

Uniting Europe. By William E. Rappard. With a Preface by Edward M. House. Yale University Press. $3.

Professor Rappard, who for years has worked diligently and devotedly to further the cause of world peace through the building up of war-prevention machinery at Geneva and elsewhere, is not over-happy or enthusiastic about the prospects for the future. In this collection of lectures delivered before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown he examines the progress made to date by the League of Nations and by other agencies. He sees "promising symptoms of a wholesale evolution," but confesses that it would take more optimism than he can command to say that the prospects for real disarmament and international cooperation "are bright today." National isolation he believes to be a formidable obstacle to the cause, and he is anxious to have the United States show more willingness than it has to date in helping Europe solve the problem of peace, but he weakens his argument against national isolation by agreeing that "every state has the right to consult primarily its national interest in the formulation of its national policies." This is the bed-rock principle of nationalism, to which many coun-

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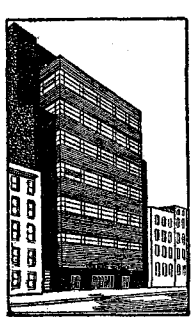

tries besides the United States adhere, and so long as it defies successful challenge there can be but small hope of lasting peace.

The Epochs of German History. By J. Haller. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

It is a pity that this brilliant historical work is spoiled by Professor Haller's overvaluation of political processes, which he sees only as the manipulation of power, and by his astonishing obtuseness to the significance of his own findings. He frankly arraigns the disunity of the nation before Bismarck, the selfishness and mediocrity of the old German princes. Acknowledging the havoc done by their petty ambitions and by the imperialism of the Hapsburgs, he is apparently incapable of seeing that the nationalism which he advocates must lead and has led to similar and greater disasters in international politics. To make his points Professor Haller at times ignores and at other times understates the remarkable culture and vigor of the German people during their periods of comparative political powerlessness.

Chingis-Khan. By B. Ya. Vladimirtsov. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

After one able chapter on Mongol life and institutions Professor Vladimirtsov's biography of the bloody conqueror declines into commonplace hero-worship. Much of it is taken up with a defense of Chingis against the charge of brutality, a defense that, in addition to being singularly pointless and unsuccessful, weakens the book by nullifying the chief features of the hero's portrait.

Black Bread and Red Coffins. By Negley Farson. The Century Company. $4.

Mr. Farson, roaming reporter for the Chicago *Daily News,* on an extended trip last year poked into countless out-of-the-way places in Russia. So quickly is change taking place that many of Mr. Farson's observations are already out of date. Nevertheless he has presented in excellent narrative form a worthwhile series of sketches of the new, yet old, Russian nation.

Drama

Deflating the Drama

IN spite of much moaning among the managers, 1931 finds the New York theater in a healthy condition, and this health may be partly explained on the ground of compulsory reduction. Like oil and copper, steel and automobiles, the entertainment field during boom times underwent a process of gross inflation. Theaters were built more rapidly than plays of consequence could be written. Now, in passing through the town, one may see the sign "For sale or rent" upon the doors of dozens of deserted playhouses.

I do not mean that the concentration of effort has meant a masterpiece for every going concern. But, at least, the present season has seen much less of the impossible and obviously inept than usual. As the cynical player said in "The Show Shop" of Jimmy Forbes: "It's always a bad year for bad plays." The reverse of this is approximately true.

In a season during which the buying public is supposed to be on strike, and all luxury industries moribund, "Grand Hotel" is crowded at each performance. And Mr. Kaufman's lively "Once in a Lifetime" also prospers exceedingly well. "The Green Pastures" is not yet within sight of any ending. Possibly, in the next few years, we may have a theatrical season

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restricted chiefly to palpable hits. There will be no room for the merely moderately successful attraction. Managers are beginning to decide quickly, and to accept defeat after a week or so, and not maintain a losing battle. In the old days there were producers who would suffer staggering losses with poor plays rather than confess defeat. The so-called commercial manager is, among other things, vain and sentimental. He has not been, in any hard-boiled sense of the word, sheer business man.

It is, perhaps, less than sporting to crow over anybody's failure. But I must confess a certain satisfaction at the Waterloo of "Smiles." Florenz Ziegfeld has done a really important work for the American theater. He was one of the first to give opportunity to the newer men in scene designing. This influence went far beyond the musical-comedy field, and there might never have been an opportunity for a Robert Edmond Jones or a Lee Simonson if it had not been for Ziegfeld's earlier alliance with Urban.

I realize that by now Urban probably seems an ultra-conservative to the younger men. But his advent in the theater marked an actual revolution from the old days of literalism. But of recent years it has seemed to me that Ziegfeld grew Victorian. He set his face resolutely against the coming of the new-style revue. It was obvious that New York audiences wanted something intimate, simple, and humorous. The triumph of the first "Little Show" should have been enough to establish the trend. Ziegfeld was not converted. He seemed to feel that he could continue to triumph by weight of names, of metal, and of chorus girls. If only a show were big enough, he seemed to feel that it could not fail to impress the theatergoers. And now "Smiles," one of the most elaborate of his productions, is being withdrawn at the end of a few weeks.

I am hoping that this may lead to merrier times in the musical-comedy field. It is trite, of course, to assail the managers with that old familiar question, "Why don't you buy a joke?" But there never has been a satisfactory answer to that question. We have a right to ask it again, and to keep on asking it. Possibly there may be a chance, now, for some of the younger men to show their worth in the field of musical comedy. There is no reason why the revue form should be nothing more than glitter and some measure of good dancing. George Kaufman and Morrie Ryskind in "Strike Up the Band" made it manifest that there is opportunity for the satirists. Let them get going. Let us have now a real chance for the wits of our day to show us in gay fashion just what they think of this world in which we live. HEYWOOD BROUN

One suspects that some time during the rehearsals of "Midnight" by Paul and Claire Sifton (Guild Theater), which the Theater Guild launched last week, certain changes were made in the text. The play was announced as a "passionate protest against capital punishment." It came out as less than that, ardent enough in spots, in others confused by wisecracks that seemed not to belong to it. The first act, in its delineation of how a citizen can be pursued by the hideous importunities of the tabloids, was even in tone, excellently acted, and a promise of something fine to come. The rest of the play was considerably less sure and the denouement is altogether uncertain in emphasis and therefore wanting in power. Glenn Anders and Frederick Perry are perhaps the best in a generally first-rate cast. D. V. D.

Because of the pressure of his other work Heywood Broun has been obliged reluctantly to discontinue his regular dramatic reviewing for The Nation. *Beginning with the next issue our contributing editor, Mark Van Doren, will review the drama until the return of Joseph Wood Krutch.*—EDITOR THE NATION.

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*Five Star Final—Cort—48 St. E. of B'way.
*Grand Hotel—National—W. 41 St.
*Midnight—Guild—52 St. W. of B'way.
†Once in a Lifetime—Music Box—W. 45 St.
†The Greeks Had a Word For It—Harris—42 St. W. of B'way.
†The Man in Possession—Booth—45 St. W. of B'way.
†This is New York—Plymouth—45 St. W. of B'way.
‡Three's a Crowd—Selwyn—W. 42 St.
†Vinegar Tree—Playhouse—48 St. E. of B'way.

* Drama. † Comedy. ‡ Musical.

FILMS

Sous les Toits de Paris—(French)—Little Carnegie—57 St. E. of 7 Ave.
Zwei Herzen Im 3-4 Takt—(German)—55 St. Playhouse E. of 7 Ave.
News Reel—Embassy—B'way and 46 St.
Lightnin' beginning Sat., Jan. 17; Sin Takes a Holiday beginning Wed., Jan. 21—The Plaza—58 St. E. of Madison Ave.
All Russian Program—5th Ave. Playhouse—66 Fifth Ave.

MUSIC

Dusolina Giannini, soprano—Carnegie Hall—Tues. eve., Jan. 20.
Vladimir Horowitz, pianist—Carnegie Hall—Wed. eve., Jan. 21.
Nina Koshetz, soprano—New School for Social Research—Tues. eve., Jan. 20.
Philharmonic Symphony—Carnegie Hall—Fri. aft., Jan. 16; Sun. aft., Jan. 18; Thurs. eve., Jan. 15, 22; Sat. aft., Jan. 17.
Roth String Quartet—Town Hall—Wed. eve., Jan. 21.
Andres Segovia, guitarist—Town Hall—Sun. aft., Jan. 18.

LECTURES AND DISCUSSIONS

Hon. James W. Gerard on "The German Political Situation Today"—Auditorium—150 W. 85 St.—Tues., Jan. 20 at 8:30 P.M.
"Will The World Return to Religion?"—Debate between Gilert K. Chesterton and Clarence Darrow—Mecca Temple—133 W. 55 St.—Sun., Jan. 18 at 3 P.M.
"Disarmament" by Senor Salvador De Madariaga—New School For Social Research—66 W. 12 St.—Fri., Jan. 23 and Thurs., Jan. 29—5:20 to 6:50 P.M.
"Resolved that the Best Political Service Can Be Rendered by Joining the Socialist Party"—Debate—Heywood Broun and Clarence Darrow vs. Norman Thomas and Arthur Garfield Hays—Mecca Temple—133 W 55 St.—Fri., Jan. 30, 8:30 P.M.

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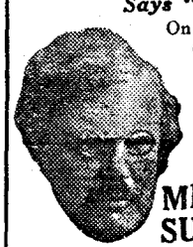

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Films

The Underworld

GANGSTERS and racketeers play so prominent a part in the American life of today that it would be little short of a miracle if their exploits were ignored by the movies. Nor are they. In fact, the number of films dealing with the underworld and its criminal activities is altogether too great. The actual proportion of these films in the total Hollywood output cannot be stated for lack of data. But it can hardly be very small, and if casual observation is to be trusted, there is reason to believe that it is growing steadily. It is sufficient to mention that the week under review saw four new pictures in New York belonging to this class, while several more were being shown in neighboring places.

Of course, there can be no objection to underworld films on the ground that they make crime too attractive. It is the business of the movies, as it is of the theater, to reflect life, and American life is American life. The trouble with these films is that they reflect the life of the underworld in a light that is altogether false. They crown the hold-up man and the safe-breaker with the romantic halo of bravery and adventure that helps to disguise their fundamental moronism. Nor do they ever make the slightest attempt to relate the criminal class to its social source, the economics and spirit of rapacious capitalism. But the glorification of the gangster, pursued mostly for the sake of cheap sensationalism, does not stop at this. To judge by some recent pictures of prison life, of which two, "The Criminal Code" (Mayfair) and "Paid" (Capitol), have just arrived on Broadway, the criminal is not only admired as a hero, but also pitied as a victim, a victim not of this acquisitive society of ours, but of its soulless law which demands an eye for an eye. It is true, the two films mentioned, which are both adaptations of well-known stage plays ("Paid" being the screen name of that famous play "Within the Law"), choose for their victims of the law two innocent characters; but this innocence is purely accidental, and the chief interest of the pictures, as well as their main emotional appeal, lies in their denunciation of the punitive law and its instrument, the prison. Granting the brutal vindictiveness of the penal system, one cannot help feeling that this sentimentalizing over the poor gunmen side by side with the meek acceptance of the conditions that breed the gunmen and create the prisons fosters a hypocritical attitude toward the existing evils.

Barring this false view of crime and punishment, it must be admitted that both "The Criminal Code" and "Paid" achieve considerable success in the presentation of their respective stories. The picture of prison life in the former is not so rich in detail as it was in "The Big House," but it is sufficiently harrowing to keep one spellbound. It is also capably acted, particularly by Walter Huston, though even he is not completely free of a certain stage effect in speech and bearing.

"Paid" does not deal so much with prison life as with its effect on a proud and resourceful young woman who went there without guilt and left it with the determination to avenge herself for her suffering. There is a great naturalness in the acting of this picture, the chief honors both for acting and striking beauty going to Miss Joan Crawford.

Mr. Ronald Colman is also a person with a "crime record" on the screen, but in "The Devil to Pay" (Gaiety) he is only a delightful, happy-go-lucky adventurer in life with a chivalrous regard for the ladies' feelings and quite unusual disregard of money. The picture is a sparkling and wholly entertaining trifle.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

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Poland Courts a New War

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

SOME weeks ago the Warsaw correspondent of the *New Leader* of London wrote that he felt it his duty "to ring the bells of alarm and make them heard in the remotest corners of Europe. A new bomb is being placed under the powder magazines of Europe—a bomb which threatens to blow up the whole edifice of post-war equilibrium. This time the danger comes from Poland and her military-fascist aggressiveness." The *New Leader's* correspondent was thinking primarily of the effect upon the rest of Europe of the course the Pilsudski dictatorship has been pursuing. He could foresee nothing but disaster, perhaps a revolution, perhaps another war, arising from the unrestricted dictatorship, the smothering of political freedom, the "engineered" elections of last November, the tragic "pacification" of the Ukraine, and the suppression by terrorism of national minorities elsewhere in Poland.

It may be that the correspondent painted the picture a little too dark. Yet a glance at the map suffices to show what perils the runaway dictatorship in Poland might have in store for the rest of Europe. To the immediate east is Russia, of which almost the entire continent lives in constant dread. To the west is Germany, with which Poland has been engaged in the bitterest sort of controversy these last eleven years. A clash with Russia, or an internal upheaval in Poland that would play into Russia's hands, contains many alarming possibilities. It is, however, the quarrel with Germany that presents the more immediate and more serious threat to the peace of Europe.

In Upper Silesia, Posen, and Pomerania is to be found what is unquestionably the sorest of the several sore spots in Europe. Whether justly or unjustly, Germany was deeply wounded when these territories were taken from her. Tact and discretion on the part of Poland might have served with the help of time to heal the wound. Far from being tactful or discreet, Poland has allowed its ultra-patriotic citizens to rub the wound with the salt of unrestrained chauvinism until it has become severely aggravated. In Germany this deliberate irritating of the Eastern frontier wound has let loose headstrong forces (by no means confined to the extreme right) which the Brüning Government may find itself unable to control.

Germany has appealed to the League of Nations Council for justice for the Germans in Poland. Notes sent to the Council on November 27, December 9, and December 17 recited in detail numerous individual instances of extremist activities in connection with the elections to the Polish parliament and Upper Silesian Sejm in November. They told of the unwarranted arrest of German candidates, of the summary disqualification upon the thinnest pretense of other German candidates, of the slugging of German voters by Polish patriots (six persons being killed in the ensuing riots), of other acts of terrorism designed to keep the German voters from the polls, of the circulation of the most inflammatory sort of posters and handbills calling upon the Poles to use every means at their command to prevent German votes from being cast. The posters and handbills, the notes said, were distributed by an organization calling itself the Silesian Rebels' League. Although the Polish government was not directly accused of responsibility for these extremist activities, many government officials were listed as officers or members of the Rebels' League, and it was charged that the acts of terrorism were at the very least openly tolerated by the Polish authorities.

The German protests merely skim the surface of the real problem. They do not go into the fundamental issues involved. These issues concern the rights of the German minority in Poland only incidentally. Nevertheless, when the German charges are taken up at the Council session scheduled to begin on January 19 the Berlin government will be compelled by international political circumstances to confine its argument to a discussion of minority rights. Were the German representative to go farther than this he would in effect be asking that the Versailles treaty be reexamined with a view to revision, and Germany is not yet prepared to go into this very delicate question. An airing of German-Polish relations at Geneva might, on the other hand, awaken Europe to the gravity of the situation, and this in turn might conceivably bring about the necessary readjustment and thereby relieve the present strain. But such an awakening appears too much to hope for. France and her allies, the arch-defenders of the European status quo, may be counted upon to stand in the way. Hence the Geneva debate must of necessity center about the rights of minorities, and a limited discussion of this sort cannot solve the basic problem.

One must go back to 1917 and to the peace conference to find the roots of the real difficulties separating Germany and Poland. In the early years of the war Polish leaders were divided on the question of whether they would have more to gain in their independence campaign by courting Russia and the Allies or by cultivating German friendship. Almost all the young Poles who took part in the war fought on the side of the Central Powers. These men looked to Joseph Pilsudski, ironically enough at that time an ardent pro-German, as their leader. Opposed to Pilsudski and his followers was a group, much smaller in number, that centered around the National Democratic Party and was led by Romain Dmowski and Ignace Paderewski. This group was decidedly, almost fanatically, pro-Ally. It demanded the restitution of all the territories which at any time in history had belonged to Poland, a course that certainly would have involved the annexation of considerable sections of German land beyond that which the Versailles treaty and the subsequent plebiscites and insurrections actually gave to Poland. Naturally the Dmowski faction was recognized by the Allies as the bona fide spokesman for the Polish people when it came time to negotiate the peace treaties.

The peace was actually negotiated by three men, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson. In the light of French policy Clemenceau could not have done otherwise

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than support the extremist demands of Dmowski, which were designed as much to weaken Germany as to create a strong Polish state. Lloyd George took an almost directly contrary stand. The balance of power therefore lay with Wilson. It cannot be doubted that Woodrow Wilson wanted justice done both sides. His position long had been that lands "indisputably Polish" should be ceded to Poland. Nevertheless he agreed to the cession of territories that were not "indisputably Polish."

Dmowski was ably seconded in his extravagant demands by Professor Robert Howard Lord of Harvard University, American technical delegate at the peace conference, who was strongly anti-German and who is credited with having invented the idea of the Corridor as a means of weakening Germany.

With his confused knowledge of European history, and with Dmowski and his technical adviser, Lord, bearing down on him from either side, it is small wonder that President Wilson surrendered to Clemenceau and the Poles on almost every point. Danzig was torn from Germany and made a Free City under Polish protection by the votes of the Clemenceau-Wilson majority. This was done on the theory that Poland had to have a free port and that Danzig was largely Polish, anyhow, though even the Poles today admit that Danzig is 97 per cent German. It may be noted, however, that Czecho-Slovakia, another creature of the peace conference and similarly cut off from the sea, has been satisfied with free-port privileges in Hamburg and that it was not necessary to detach Hamburg from Germany for this purpose. Moreover, the conference refused to allow a plebiscite in Danzig; it was created a Free City and made a part of the Polish customs system without the consent of its people.

In the same way the majority handed most of Posen and Pomerania (making up the Corridor) to Poland without seeking to establish by means of a plebiscite whether these areas were "indisputably Polish." As a matter of fact, the only districts in the Corridor that were granted plebiscites, Allenstein and Marienwerder, voted to remain German by majorities of 97.5 per cent and 92.8 per cent respectively. Upper Silesia was permitted to choose between Germany and Poland, but only after Lloyd George had succeeded by clever strategy and argument in wearing down the opposition of Wilson and Clemenceau. A plebiscite was held on March 12, 1921. It was preceded, however, by two military insurrections (engineered by Dmowski and led by Adalbert Korfanty in the hope of annexing Upper Silesia by force and thus confronting the Allies with a *fait accompli*) and by a veritable reign of terror designed to keep German sympathizers from the voting places. But despite the terrorism and notwithstanding the general assumption at the peace conference that Upper Silesia was unquestionably Polish, the plebiscite showed 707,393 votes for Germany and only 479,365 for Poland. According to Article 88 of the Treaty of Versailles a majority of the population was to decide to which country the province should belong. In clear violation of this article, the Allies discovered a minor technicality in another section of the treaty which they interpreted as giving them permission to divide the province and they allotted the pro-Polish voting districts to Poland. Before this could be arranged, however, a third Korfanty insurrection brought a solution which the Allies accepted. The regular and volunteer Polish troops took and held the eastern half of the province, including most of the mining and industrial properties, and this area was thereupon ceded to Poland without any ado whatever as to the legitimacy of the act. Adalbert Korfanty was primarily responsible for this Polish victory. He was recently rewarded for his patriotism by imprisonment in the fortress at Brest-Litovsk, whither he was sent by the once pro-German Pilsudski for having questioned the wisdom of Pilsudski's present anti-German policy in Upper Silesia.

Disregarding the conflicting Polish and German historic and ethnological claims to these territories, it must be conceded that an unqualified restoration of these lands to Germany would not solve the present difficulties between the two countries. The problem can only be met by an honest and thorough reexamination, coupled with a genuine desire, not only on the part of Germany, but also on the part of France, Poland, and their allies, to abide by the findings of that reexamination.

Until this is done there can be no hope for concrete improvement in the situation. It is not enough to say that the Germans should stop whining and complaining and should accept the penalties imposed upon them by the peace treaties. It is not enough, even granting that it were humanly possible, to tell the Germans to forget the grave economic problem created by the separation of East Prussia from Germany, the expropriation of the holdings of hundreds of thousands of Germans in Poland, the numerous irritating border incidents, the shameless neglect of the commercially important Vistula River, the suppression by terrorism of the German minorities. This might prove a workable solution if Poland herself were satisfied with the present arrangement. Clearly she is not. She wants more territory; her public leaders make no bones about their desire to annex Danzig, the whole of East Prussia, and the remainder of Upper Silesia. Propaganda and agitation with these ends in mind have lately been increasing in Poland. The propaganda is being spread along the frontiers and in East Prussia. It is openly tolerated, if not actually subsidized, by the Warsaw government. Some of the agitation is being carried forward by ostensibly disinterested writers and publicists, but more of it comes from the Polish Nationalist Association of the Western Marches and related organizations. These groups have undertaken what they describe as "the civil defense of the frontiers." More than 20,000 men have been organized, armed, and trained for warfare by the "civil defense." War games held by these groups have revealed their true purpose. In one set of maneuvers the capture of Marienwerder (which voted overwhelmingly for Germany) was the objective; at another time Western Upper Silesia was the goal. In addition the state police and the regular frontier guards maintain 25,000 men along the borders in readiness "for any emergency." Literature issued by these various groups keeps constantly before its members the thought that East Prussia and other German lands may some day be saved by Poland, and it repeatedly warns them to be prepared "for the next war against Germany."

In the several years that the Berlin government has been fighting for the rights of the German minorities, citing hundreds of cases of discrimination and oppression, the Polish authorities have been able to prove only a few cases of discrimination against Polish residents in Germany with which to offset the German case, and in all these cases it has been

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clearly established that erring or misguided individuals have been to blame. But today there are multiplying indications that this situation is changing, chiefly because of the growing German resentment of the Polish excesses, and herein lies the greatest menace to the peace of Europe. Following the November terrorism in Upper Silesia and the Corridor numerous German newspapers of nationalist inclinations called loudly for reprisals. The National Socialists in the Reichstag asked permission to form a volunteer corps of frontier guards "to prevent border incidents" and to "quell Polish excesses." Soon thereafter 200 armed fascists were seized near Breslau, not far from the Polish border, where they had gathered apparently with the intention of forming a frontier guard without the government's permission. In the Pomeranian district of Bütow 400 members of the Stahlhelm broke up a Polish children's festival, assaulted several persons, and damaged the Polish school. Similar attacks have been reported from other villages. Unfortunately, the rising tide of nationalism in Germany holds forth no promise of keeping this very recent development in check. If the provocations from across the border were to cease, the hot-headed nationalists in Germany could perhaps be restrained, but with Polish excesses continuing, these nationalist forces may provoke a border incident that will shake Europe.

At the moment the future looks dark. With the Pilsudski dictatorship riding roughshod over the Ukrainians, the Germans, and even over large groups of patriotic Poles who dare to disagree with Pilsudski, any small spark may set off a devastating explosion. Yet there is still time for Europe to take stock of the situation and turn to a consideration of remedial measures. Should Germany take the initiative in proposing a review of the peace treaties she would immediately arouse the most of Europe against her. Witness only the reaction of Europe to the Treviranus speeches of last September. The responsibility lies with France and the other defenders of the peace treaties.

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